1342

VOX REGIS.

[1624]

The Frontiſpiece Explained.

PEereleſſe Prince *Charles*, his *Siſter* doth preſent
With her lou'd *Spouſe* in publike *Parliament:*
Pleads their *Iuſt cauſe*, in honourable hight
Of *Speech* and *Paſſion*, vnto which, their ſight
In *Sable Weedes*, adds flame; as Flint with Steele,
When nimble Tinder doth the quicke ſparkes feele.
And in affection firſt, the *King*, to heare
And ſee *Himſelfe*, in his owne *Fleſh* (ſo deere,
Louing, and loued) abuſed, His angry Sword
Drawes, and to Armes, the *Signall* giues and *Word*.
The *Nobles*, with this ſight prouok'd, and led
By him who now purſues, what earſt he fled,
Make haſt to follow, Each his Fauchion reares
Aboue his head, cryes, *Therefore we are Peeres.*
The *Clergie* pray; The *Commons* for their parts
Seale their conſent with *Purſes, Tongues, Hands, Hearts.*
O all ye *Prouder Nations*, who by ſwarmes,
Like ſtinging Waſpes, haue *forc'd* vs to theſe Armes,
Shew now that *Perſonall odds* you ſo much vaunt,
And with ſtout braggs, the boulder *Britanes* daunt,
Challenge the ſingle Combate man to man,
And prooue whoſe *Head Heart, Hand*, the Conqueſt can
Winne from each other, Enuie to conuince,
And honour bring to *Countrey, Nation, Prince.*
See now when *Drummes* doe beat, and *Tabers* ceaſe,
If you in *Warre* can wrong vs as in *Peace.*

1624
S429
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VOX REGIS
Whatsoever thy hand findeth to doe doe it wth thy mighte Eccl. 9. 10.
Presume not of to morrow for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth. Prov. 27. 1.
A wise mans heart is at his right hand Eccle. 10. 2.
The starres in their courses fought against Sisera. Judg. 5. 20.
Sumus ergo pa
Therefore wee are F
My heart is towards ye Governours of Israel, who offered themselues willingly among the people. Iudg. 5. 9.
And all the people tooke notice of it, and it pleased them: as whatsoever ye K
did pleased all the people. 2 Sam 3. 36.

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XUM

To the Reader.

THere is nothing of more moment for the happineſſe of a Kingdome then that the Prince and People ſhould know each other. For where this is not there can be no confidence, but iealouſie takes place on both ſides, and all actions are ſubiect to double and ſo to doubtfull interpretation. That the Prince therefore ſhould know the People all men thinke it a thing fit; he cannot otherwiſe manage them aright, no more then a skilfull Horſeman before he find the mouth of his Courſer, whether hard and headſtrong or ſoft and gentle. But ſome iudge it not fit that the people ſhould know their Prince, for feare of contempt (knowne things being contemned) or I wot not for what other danger; and theſe Machiuilians I ſuppoſe, vſing or abuſing this compariſon, would make the Prince beleeue (if they could) that his people were Horſes in deed and that there were the ſame odds betwixt him and them, as there is betwixt the Rider and his Hackney. Wiſe Princes know the difference though they vſe the compariſon; and euen Horſes will know the Rider by his feeding, dreſſing, hand, ſeate, and managing, or let him know they vnderſtand their owne ſtrength to his trouble. Reaſon & Religion *are the raines of this Bridle which gouerne the Inferiour as long as they be kept in the hand of the Superiour; but being neglected by the one, they are ſtraight reiected by the other, and the Rider expoſed to the danger of an vncertaine courſe and a looſe ſeate.*

Now the way for the Prince to know his people is by their words or actions: and the ſame way is left open for the People to know their Prince.

But it is obiected, that Salomon *ſaith, or the ſeruants of* Hezekiah *from him, that* The heart of Kings is vnſearchable. Pr. 25. 3. Obiect.

Answ. *Yet God knowes the heart of* Salomon *himselfe, though neuer so deepe, and man may know it also by words & works rightly obserued; for by these God himselfe reueales his owne heart.*

The Lord, to all in generall, makes himselfe & his power knowne by his workes of Creation, Prouidence, and Iustice; but to his Church (who are his peculiar flocke, his kingdome) he makes his mind knowne by his word, and therein reueales his grace and mercie, and the entire affection of his heart to man, still making it good with his workes.

But doe the words & workes of God then differ, or speake a strange language that each other vnderstand not, because he speakes to all by his workes, to his Elect by his word? God forbid He speakes to all by his workes; That is, all see, but all vnderstand not what they see: but he speakes to his Church by his word; that is, he expounds to his own the meaning of

Ps. 33.9 *his workes. His workes are but the eccho of his word,* He spake and it was done; He commanded and it stood fast. *But because oftentimes he suffers outward crosses to befall the righteous for some inward euill, and outward comforts to befall the wicked, for some shadow of good, vnwise men who see not the hidden causes, imagine falsely that Gods workes doe contradict his word, and so iudge God not so iust in his promises to his owne, & in his threatnings to his enemies, as his word proclaimes him to be. For this cause the mouthes of the malignant are opened to blaspheme; but it is no matter for them, they do but begin to exercise & practise here what they shall act eternally hereafter, with the Diuell and his angels. Yet God hath a fatherly care to satisfie his owne Elect vessels of honour; to whom, lest they should mistake, he communicates his Spirit, thereby to acquaint them, with the course of his secret counsels and entents so farre as concernes their particulars, or the elect in general, by which they*

XUM

they ſee how out of the worſt, all things worke togither for the beſt, to thoſe that are Gods, called according to his purpoſe. Rom. 8 28.

Kings are like Gods, their hearts are deepe & vnſearchable, by reaſon of the variable waies they are forced to walke for the weale of their people; their eies being in euery corner of the State, where no ſingle man can purſue them; and yet there are buckets to draw out their entents, though neuer ſo deepe, cloſe, and profound. Their actions ſpeake to all the world, & tell their power, to protect their owne within, and correct their enemies without. And if their words & works ſeem to differ, it is to thoſe who ought to be held in ſuſpence. But to their own, their words & works ſpeake one language, and they ſtriue to reſemble him whoſe ſubſtitutes they are, Who ſpake & it was done: *So ſhould they not only looke to haue all that they command obayd, but to do & performe to the full, yea, to make good to the vttermoſt of their power, whatſoeuer they haue ſpoken or promiſed. Nor can they expect to be otherwiſe iudged, then by their words and workes, and the concordance of theſe in outward apparance; becauſe they are men hauing the Spirit but in* meaſure, *not in ſufficient fulneſſe to communicate it to others, thereby to acquaint them with inward entents, when outward actions ſeeme repugnant; nor can they conferre Spirituall graces, for outward humiliations; nor inrich vs with Heauen, hauing once depriued vs, of the riches of Earth; nor giue vs eternall life, in exchange of temporall; nor reſtore temporall life, if once they haue taken it away.*

Whereas therfore his moſt excellent Maieſty hath referd vs his poore ſubiects, to the reading of his bookes for the ſincerity of his heart in point of Religion; *becauſe ſome actions of his, either did (as he heard) or might (as he thought) giue occaſion of ſuſpicion and icalouſie to ſome, who looked as it*

were a squint, or with purblind eies vpon them. I doe assure my selfe it can be no presumption in me for my owne and other mens resolution, to obserue his words, and to reade his writings therby to learn to know him perfectly & to expect without doubt the accomplishment of his promises. For his words and writings are published to this end, and called his Works, *because they should be turned into workes. For as it implyes weakenesse to haue workes resolued into words: so it expresseth strength to haue words sublimated into works, as the words of potent Princes vse to be, or ought to be. For this end I haue produced something of his Maesties, for my own encouragement, & for other mens information, & am bold out of confidence in his grace & goodnes to present it to the publike view, hauing for my excuse a good entention & for my warrant his Maesties Mandate or Commission; since he hath done it before by word and writing, and will'd me to doe it againe by reading and repetition,*

If Satan tempt me, or God seem to lowre vpon me, & not to perform those condicions & couenants of grace which he hath promised me, whilst my soule stands in need & hungers
Ps.42.1 *& thirsts for his sauing health, as* the parching earth for refreshing showres, or the hunted Hart for Riuers of water. *I dare silence Satan, nay confidently challenge God himself, and put him in mind of his own mercy & my misery; I dare charge him with his own promise & bring his own written word a witnesse against himselfe on my behalfe; I dare knocke and cry till he heare & open; if I should not do thus he would condemne me as vnfaithfull; if I doe thus he will commend me, with,* Well done good and faithfull seruant.

If I dare doe this to God shall I feare to do thus to my Soueraigne? A man subiect to the like infirmities that I am, and so may know all his people to be, who feare, & desire, and hope, & long, & are perplexed till they see, what is promised, performed:

performed? No; let none be so atheistically bold as to call me presumptuous for this: it is not only mine but his Maiesties comfort to heare the Apostle say with confidence, we haue not a high Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sinne. Let vs go therefore boldly vnto the throne of grace, &c. Heb. 4. 15.

If this be his comfort in common with vs for matter of his soule and eternall saluation to haue such a high Priest; It is my comfort in common, with others for matter of our bodies, estates & temporall saluation, to haue such a King as will striue to imitate this high Priest as well in relieuing, as feeling our miseries and infirmities. If such be his Maiesties confidence in common with vs, that in spirituall distresses he dare with boldnesse goe to this Throne of grace, what should deter me in common with others, from appealing with boldnesse in temporall calamities to the Throne of my Soueraignes mercy whom God hath set ouer me in his sted to this end to heare & help me? Whilst I see him believe in God, I will not feare to believe him; Whilst I see him heare Gods word & giue credit to it, I will not doubt to rely vpon his. I am only terrified from beholding or approching the presence of that man, who believes not in God, who believes not that there is a God; His word I only abhor, his workes I startle at, who slights the Word of God and obserues not his workes, till with wonder, he be made by God a by-word and a worke of iudgement for other mens obseruation.

This is my shield this buckler I hold out against all foole fires and feares of other mens idle assentation; Vnder this shelter I make my neere approches, hoping to conquer or to come off safe, God leading me on & being my Captaine, the King calling me and giuing encouragement, thou Reader standing indifferent till thou hast read & heard what I say for God, for the King, for thee, for my selfe, who am Gods vnworthy Seruant, the Kings vnworthy Subiect, thy vnworthy Friend

T. S. coll

XUM

VOX REGIS.

HAT I HAVE FORmerly written in that Treatiſe called *Vox Dei* as it hath beene moſt properlie applied to the honor of his Maieſtie, the gratious Prince of Wales, the illuſtrious, Duke of Buckingham and the happie Earle of Holderneſſe, with other worthies, who haue in this late time of extreme neceſſitie ſtept forth for the reſcue of our Lawes, liues, religion, and State from imminent danger; ſoe it may ſerue either wholly to excuſe, or at leaſt to extenuate a fact of mine, which ſome are pleaſed to tearme a fault.

For not long ſince beholding with griefe the increaſe of Poperie in the Land, and the cauſes thereof, together with the great danger of the State thereby: (of all which I had beene made ſenſible by the prouiſions, cautions, edicts, and Lawes of the State, framed, and published, and ſometimes executed againſt them with much greater

care and circumſpection, then thoſe of former Kings, for the deſtruction of *Wolues)* I ſuppoſed it my duty, by all meanes to ioyne with the State, in diſcloſing the neſts and couerts of theſe. And therefore obſeruing herewith the generall feares, diſcontents, and grieuances of the beſt affected in the State, by reaſon of infinite diſorders, which like weedes ouergrew all the good flowers of the garden, and gaue shelter and reliefe, to hide, and shadow theſe from the eye of Iuſtice; I collected ſuch *Paſſages of State*, as obuiouſly preſented themſelues; together with the peoples cenſure and comment made vpon them; with intention, that they might come to his Maieſties ſight: Becauſe I thought (as the King himſelfe hath ſince profeſſed publiquely in Parliament) that all thoſe miſchiefes grew vp in darkneſſe, whilſt they were not ſeene by ſupreme Authority; and would (with the Baſiliske) die, aſſoone as they were diſcouered by ſoueraigne prouidence. According to that of *Salomon*. *A King that ſitteth in the Throne of Iudgement, chaſeth away all euill with his eyes.*

Pro. 20. 8.

But whilſt I thus thought, and thus did, the difficulty appeared greater then at firſt; and I ſaw no readie meanes how I might ſafely convey this *Mirror of the Multitude* into his Maieſties hands: Becauſe the things were ſo *monſtrous* and *deformed*, and of *ſuch nature*, and concerned *ſuch membres*, as they could not ſafely be diſcouered, and very hardly cured by any, except by him onely, who hath power to cure the *Kings Euill*. Beſides, I conſidered, that perhaps all the Guards placed about Princes, are not euer intended for their perſonall ſecurity, but that ſometime they are more carefully guarded from their *friends*, and from *truth*, then from their *enemies*, and from *falshood*.

Whilſt

Whilſt therefore thus I delayed, and droue away much time, by reaſon of the danger; at length *Neceſsity* preſt me forward, when I beheld all things in ſuch a height of extremity, as (in my iudgement) without ſpeedie remedie, ſtood readie for combuſtion, and next to ruine.

Then ashamed to haue ouer loued my perſonall liberty ſo long, that for it I should neglect the liberty of my conſcience and of my Countrey, I gaue way to the publishing of that *Pamphlet*, which paſſeth vnder the name of *Vox populi*; as containing the common-peoples priuate and retired diſcourſes. Pro. 21. 28

Againſt this, (euen as I feared not onely *Goliah* and the *Philiſtims*, ennemies of the State, but the *Iſraelites* themſelues; yea, my brethren, of one Faith; my friends, familiars, acquaintance, oppoſed themſelues, with a violent cenſure, and paſſionate purſuite of the vnknowne Author. Whilſt his Maieſtie (as I haue credibly heard related) beheld it more indifferently, as one that doubted (perhaps) much of it might be true. And therefore began to enquire, as *Philip* of *Macedon* in another caſe, *whether it was Nicanors fault that he ſpake euill, or whether Nicanor had iuſt cauſe ſo to ſpeake.* But whilſt theſe things were maturely debating, and poore I, labouring to hide my ſelfe from the Enemie, behold the *Philiſtims* found my *Heyfer*, and ſo vnfolded my *Riddle*. Aſſoone as I was ſeene, it was no need to bid me runne, (as they ſay) for life; expecially when by a *Dreame* I was warned of the danger, and willed to make haſte; and led, as it were, by the hand, like *Lot* out of *Sodome*. Then I found it true, which *Elihu* ſaith to *Iob*; *God ſpeaketh once and twiſe, and one ſeeth it not, in dreames and viſions of the night, when ſleepe falleth vpon men, and they ſleepe vpon their* Iudg. 14. 11. Iob. 33. 14.

beds. Then he openeth the eares of men, euen by their corrections which he had ſealed, That he might cauſe man to turne away from his enterprize, and that he might hide the pride of man, and keepe backe his ſoule from the pit, and that his life ſhould not paſſe by the ſword. Thus it pleaſed God to deale with me, giuing me warning by a Dreame, (in obſeruation whereof, as I would not be ſuperſtitious; ſo in the neglect thereof, I would not be preſumptuous) foure or fiue times iterated the ſame night to riſe and be gone; for there were ſuch as ſought after me for euill, and I muſt giue way to the preſent time. Whilſt I roſe vp, and was muſing of this ſtrange and importunate Dreame, a more certaine warning ſeconded the firſt; and with *David*, I heard them knocke at the doore, who willed to make haſte.

1.Sam.19. 12.

I fled not from his Maieſtie; for whither ſhould I flie on earth, to a more mercifull Throne? Let others appeale to *Cæſar* and to *Rome*, I will not. I fled not for feare of guilt; as one that thought I had deſerued euill: but I fled for feare of a violent and potent Aduerſaire, *who goeth about like a roaring Lyon, ſeeking whom he may deuoure*; and hath many adherents little leſſe cruell then himſelfe.

1.Pet.5.8.

What a State might doe vpon a ſudden; and whether I ſhould be thought any better then duſt to be wiped off, I knew not. Of my enemies hate I was reſolued; of their generall combination to all bloudy purpoſes; euen ſealing ſuch contracts of *perdition*, with the Sacrament of Chriſts bloud, that ſeale of *ſaluation*, experience had taught me not to doubt, and I had ſome ſecret hints in this particular to aſſure it, whether any friend would ſhew themſelues for me in a *ſtorme*, *where they vſe to leaue better*

Pro.27.4. Act.23.12

better men; and whether, if they would haue appeared, they had beene able to doe me good or no at that inſtant, I had ſome cauſe to feare. *I looked vpon my right hand, and beheld, but there was none that would know me, refuge fayled me: no man cared for my ſoule.* Pſ. 142. 4. Wherfore I made a vertue of neceſſitie, and God being my guide, I eſcaped for the preſent, to giue time to ſecond cogitations.

Since that time I vnderſtand a various Cenſure hath paſt vpon what I did, according to the various diſpoſition of the Cenſurers.

I paſſe by with contempt the aſpertions of ſuch as ſpit venyme: I expect no better from the brood of Vipers. Pro. 30. 14 Reuel. 6 3.

Locuſts that are bred in the ſmoke of darkneſſe and ſuperſtition by blind Deuotion, may ſting (hauing the ſame power with Scorpions) but not vnto death, that effect is reſtrained, where they finde Gods ſeale on the forthed. 4. *The cauſleſſe curſe fals on the curſer.* I know the *Dragon* hunts the *woman* and all hers, and ſo me: our Sauiour could not ſcape his aſſault. If he attemted the head, what ſhall the body, what ſhall the heele, what ſhall a haire of the body expect? This troubles me not; nay, *this comforts me rather.* But that which moſt afflicts me is, that men, who ſay they loue the King, and honour him as I doe, that loue his Royall Yſſue, and honour them as I doe, that loue the Common-wealth, and wish it as well as I doe; that loue the Reformed and true Religion, and would as willingly fight and die for it, as I profeſſe readineſſe to doe: that theſe (I ſay) notwithſtanding all this, diſliked what I had written, and cenſured me for ſo doing. I could not therefoore chooſe, but be ſenſible of a friends ſtroke, & with *Cæſar* in the Capitoll cry out, *Et tu Brute?* Reuel. 12. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Such Obiections as I haue met withall, I here labour to answere: If any more strong, lie more close to take me at aduantage, long may they so lye and rest, neuer to rise againe to charge me with reproofe.

The first Obiection is, *That I haue beene forgetfull of the Kings honour in some Passages.* Alas! so am I of Gods honour in all, who yet pardons me from day to day. But I cannot expect this from mortall man, though neuer so mercifull: I trembled therefore, when I heard this obiected. I sought first mine owne bosome diligently, to see if there were any secret treason lurking, or any other thing that might looke like it. I found nothing but plaine truth and duty there: Yet I sighed to thinke, that perhaps these (as they had wont) might be called Treason in some places, by some persons, and then it was enough to condemne them. Then I examined the Booke curiously and diligently, which (for ought I could see) was as innocent as my heart. Vicious eyes may bring the disease with them. For Ielousie, Enuie, and Pride, haue the Iaundies, and all things which they see, lookes of their owne colour and complexion. As wee finde in euery wall such fancies as are before drawne in the imagination: so here *Vox populi* must needes, like another *filius populi*, speake Treason, because Preiudice, Imagination, and Detraction are pleased to say so, or wilfully mistake the person of the speaker, whom notwithstanding I haue fained to speake *English* as modestly, as the *Romaine Catholike* tongue would admit. But for mine owne part, if therein I haue iustly offended, I will doe execution vpon my selfe, and with *Mutius*, burne off my hand, for daring to hit, where it should hide and defend, as he did his, for missing where he would haue had it hit. Whilst my heart is free,

I am

I am the more confident, but withall muſt craue pardon, if whilſt I vndertake to perſonate the moſt bitter and malitious enemies, I ſpeake not in all tearmes as the moſt modeſt friend could wish. Thoſe which know any thing, know what they haue printed in *Louane*, and played at *Bruxels* and *Antwerpe*, and prated at *London*, and through all the Land with ſafety: ſo that whilſt I for giuing intelligence of this, am in perill, they that doe this, are in ſafety, and perhaps none of the leaſt perſons, whoſe cenſure I am afraid of.

A ſecond Obiection is, *That vain-glory mooued mee to write*. Surely ſo to doe, had beene vaine glory indeed: and I had beene as vaine in doing what I did, vpon ſuch a ground, as they vainely obiect this againſt me without ſhadow of a ground. The concealing of my name, the hiding of my ſelfe, euen whilſt others would haue taken the title vpon them, and when there appeared no cauſe of keeping cloſe, might witneſſe for me, that I was loth to be ſeene, loth to be knowne. And is this the cuſtomarie cariage of vain-glorious men? I trow not. The Pamphlet lay long by me in ſilence, and had ſtill ſlept, if neceſſity had not awaked both me and it. But thus it is eaſie for *Enuie* to traduce the moſt free and innocent conception. And thoſe that ſay thus by me, are as ready, perhaps, to caſt the like aſpertion vpon ſuch worthy Commonwealths-men, as with his Maieſties good liking, the peoples generall applauſe, to Gods glorie, the States good, and their owne perſonall honours, haue liberally and freely layd open the Grieuances of all good men, and with ſolid arguments inueighed againſt the *Abuſes* of the *Time*, preſented to their cenſure and correction, in the high *Court of Parliament*. But may this Land be ſtill

bleſſed with the happineſſe to haue ſuch as dare doe thus in the Pulpit, in Councell, at Court, and in the Countrey; neglecting in the meane time, whether theſe Dogges barke and ſnarle, or fawne, and wagge their tayles. It is all one to *vertue*, what *Enuie* and *Vice* imagineth; ſince their praiſe is a punishment; their reproches, honorable badges. The more arrowes they shoote, the better it is for armed Innocence, who walkes and fights vnder their shadow, as vnder a cloud or a canopie in the ſcorching heate of the day.

And yet as all humane actio ns haue their mixture of imperfections; ſo I neither arrogate to my ſelfe, or to that which I did, any immunitie from Ignorance and Error: but muſt, and doe freely confeſſe mine owne folly and frailtie, magnifying in the meane time, the power and goodneſſe of God, who was pleaſed to vſe ſo poore an inſtrument in ſo great a worke. And I ſee his goodneſſe towards me, in that my errors are not paſt by either without obſeruation, or ſome ſmall correction. For as it was impoſſible to flesh and bloud, but I should mingle ſome pride of heart, proper to my nature, with that which was Gods, and proper vnto him: and ſo either touch vpon ſpleene, or vain-glorie, or imagination in ſome particular, and inuolue the generall in ſuſpition: ſo God hath chaſtiſed me with a temporarie banishment, and turned the fauour of his Maieſtie and the State from me for the preſent, which otherwiſe (doubtleſſe) would haue looked towards me for good. And yet that neither I (nor others by my example) should be wholly diſcouraged from good intentions, God hath ſtirred vp mine enemies to enquire after my name, that ſo, though I would, I cannot lie hid, nor loſe that reward which followes him that flies from it,

it; the honour to bee knowne a faithfull ſeruant to God and my Countrey. Wherein my poore example is vſed, to ſtirre vp and checke the backwardneſſe of others in the Church and Common-wealth, who hauing greater abilitie to vndertake ſuch a worke, haue neither dared to leade me the way, nor yet to follow me leading them; nor once to lend a hand to reſcue me from the preſent danger the purſues me, but rather made haſt to purſue me themſelues with reproches.

A third Obiection was, *The Danger of the State, becauſe I bewrayed the vveakneſſe thereof to the Enemie:* as if our ſtrength conſiſted in being hid. Alas! hath our ſtate any more intelligent perſons, then ſuch as are ill affected to Religion, and ſo as ill as Spies and Intelligencers to *Rome*? Are not many of theſe employed in great place? cannot euery woman, euery boy poynt at them, whilſt men dare not? & whilſt we ſee them, doe not you thinke they ſee vs? Beſides, is not ſuch a *perſon* employed here for forraine affaires, as is cull'd and pickt out amongſt a million for that purpoſe? And becauſe he could not be matched, was returned the ſecond time, rewarded with an addition of Honour for the firſt ſeruice? That thus he might be ſure to vnderſtand more in our State, then any of our Natiues, as his multiplicitie, and certaintie, and excellencie of choyce Intelligence exceedes theirs? They which doubt either our *Enemies* wit to finde out and obſerue aduantages, or their wealth to vnlocke and open ſecrets, or their dexteritie to purſue Plots, may ouerſee the true and ſubſtantiall cauſe, and inuent a falſe and ſeeming one. Woodcockes onely thinke themſelues ſafe, when their heads are hidden: but wiſe-men then onely are ſecure, when they clearely ſee their enemies ſtrength and

Eccl. 8. 18. fulneſſe, and their owne wants and weakneſſe. *Doe no ſecret thing before a ſtranger (ſaith Siracides) for thou canſt not tell what he goeth about.*

A fourth Obiection is, *That the Plot or Frame was a fiction, and therefore deſerued cenſure.* Why, who profeſt otherwiſe? was there any that published it for a certaine truth? Was it not called *Vox populi*, to note it onely probable, and poſſible, and likely, not hiſtoricall? (I meane, for ſo much as concerned the Plot.) And might I not borrow a *Spaniſh* name or two, as well as *French*, or *Italian*, to grace this Comedie with ſtately Actors? Or muſt they onely be reſerued for Kingly Tragedies? why not *Gondomar*, aſwell as *Hieronymo*, or Duke *d'Alva?* And why not *Philip*, as well as *Peter*, or *Alfonſo*, or *Cæſar?* Or why might not I make as bold with them, as they with our *blacke Prince*, or *Henry* the eighth, or *Edward* the ſixth, or Queene *Elizabeth*, or King *Iames*, or the King and Queene of *Bohemia?* If this be cenſurable for being a fiction, it is ſurely for lacke of a foole, which (they ſay) Comedies ſhould not be without: and for a neede, this wittie Obiector may ſupply the place, if he enuie me the honour to become a foole alone, leſt ſome of our Stage-keepers ſhould be thought capable of that part, and forced by neceſſity to furniſh it at their owne coſt. The truth is, thoſe that vnderſtand any thing of *Spaniſh Affaires*, know ſuch a courſe is obſerued vpon returne of Ambaſſadours, (if we may credit Hiſtories or Trauellers) and perhaps thus it was: or worſe: I pray God the ſucceſſe prooue it a fiction, and not to be too true.

A fift Obiection is, *That I wrote nothing but ſtale and common things, what euery one ſaw, and ſpake of.* I hope one of theſe Obiections will anſwere another, and ſaue me

me a labour: for if this that they say be true, (as indeed it is for the matter therein deliuered) then what cause is there of displeasure? Am I worthy to be punished for informing the State, of that which euery man thinkes, and speakes in their ordinarie discourse? I neuer profest to publish any singular conception of mine owne. The Plot or Frame of the Discourse I borrowed out *of Spaine*, it was not mine owne: though I wish with all my heart the practise thereof, so farre as concernes the account of Ambassadours, and other Officers, were translated into *England*. The Matter contained within, was, what all the people spake, (whether *Romane* or *Reformed Catholiques*) as one man: neither was this mine owne. If all should be punished that are guiltie with me, and none but the innocent in this kinde should punish me, I suppose there should none be left to throw a stone at me, but I should be quit by the censure of my accusers.

Sixtly, it is obiected, That I medled with a forraine Ambassadour, which I should not haue done. To this I answere, First, that I did not touch an Ambassadour present, but one that had beene: for all that I sayd, was of the time past, when he was gone (God be praised) from *England*, and returned to *Spaine*, giuing vp the account of his Ambassage past: So that then he was no Ambassadour. Againe, suppose he were then an Ambassadour, yet I did not medle with him as with an Ambassadour, but as an incrocher vpon the Lawes and Liberties of our State, which exclude forrainers. For whilst an Ambassadour intrudes himselfe into things that concerne not his Commission; such as are, the Gouernment of our State, Church and people; the disposition of Offices, and the like: he becomes in these things pri-

uate, and makes himselfe at least subiect to the censure of all men, who are wronged by his incroching: though his person be sacred and safe from punishment, in regard of his Master, whom he *represents in publike Actions, though not in priuate vndertakeings.*

When that Donation of the Crown of *England* made by king *Iohn* to the *Pope*, is prest by the *Romish champions*, His Maiestie answers. *A king neither may in right, nor can by power transe-nature his Crowne, impaire the Maiestie of his Kingdome, or leaue his Royall dignitie lesse free to his Heire apparant, or next successor, then he receiued the same of his predecessor. Much lesse, by any dishonorable capitulations, by any vnworthy contracts, can he degrade his posteritie, & bring his people vnder the greiuous burden of tributes & taxes to a forraine Prince.* Kings then cannot dispose of their crowns without their Peeres & peoples consent: and therefore that gift or resignation is voyd. And as they cannot dispose of their Crowns, so not of their liberties: and therefore the Parliament makes free-Denizens, and incorporates members into the State by publike Acts, and not the King alone. But where an Ambassadour intrudes himselfe, hauing neither the allowance of that state, nor the king (but out of a presumption of his own faction, and the greatnesse of his Master) is it not time for such as loue their King & country to oppose him what they may, by giuing notice: as Dogges barke at strangers in the night, though all be not Theeues that come to our Houses, and knocke at our doores. And whilst I see Ambassadors haue bin spies, and haue bred much mischiefe: and that *Dauids* were suspected to be such of the *Philistines*, why may not our *Dauid* much rather iustly suspect theirs; & though not clip their coates, yet clip their Courts and Chappels somewhat shorter?

Defence of the right of kings, fol. 265.

2 Sam. 10. 3, 4.

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with a King, with whom we haue league.* I suppose, if I haue done this at all, it is verie sparingly, and in things notorious to all: and yet if I had beene bolder, Truth might haue borne me out. For it is the same King, that listened to Practises against our King and State, if we may say, what all see, and what some confesse against themselues. It is the same King in the house, I might say, the head and heart of whose Ambassadour, that banne of the Emperours against the Kings Children, was bred hatched, and published. And the like may be said of the, Nation, that it is the same Nation, who hath often sought to swallow vs by secret practises, and open inuasions. It is the same Nation, that we haue beene taught and trayned vp from our youths to beware of. It is the same Nation, whose ambitions to satisfie, the East and West *Indies* are not sufficient, nor all *Europe*: but all the earth must become slaues to their pride, and the prey of their cruelties, as if all other men and places had beene made for them. For, so they compasse what they seeke, they care not by what meanes they get it, hold it they will: their wils must be the rule of Iustice, their lusts, the Catholique rule of honour to all others.

Sir VValter Raleigh.

Deductio Nullitatum, fol. 14

Fightly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with the mariage of the Prince, which concernes not the subiect.* Concernes it not the subiect to pray, that the wife of his Soueraigne may be of the same Religion with her Lord? If I may pray thus, wish thus, may I not endeuor to haue it thus? & shew the *inconueniences* (that I may not say *mischiefs*) wch are likely to fall, if it be not thus? Princes are maried to the common-wealth; & the wife hath power of the husbands body, as the *husband* of hers. The Common-wealth then hath power

1 Cor. 7. 4.

of the Prince in this point. Their Wiues ought to be as Mothers to euerie Subiect. And were not he a Foole, that would not desire a Naturall Mother, rather then a Step-Mother? Queenes ought to be nurcing Mothers to the Church: Who then would seeke a dry-Nurse, that might haue another?

Againe, the Prince is to be considered as a publike and priuate person: As a priuate person, he may chuse for his priuate affection, and match where he list; prouided, he neglect not the publike part, which is the principall, but elects with the loue and liking of his people: Because betwixt them, loue is reciprocall; yet so, as it begins in the
1 Ioh. 4. 19 Superiour, who is an Image of God; and *we loue God, because he first loued vs.* So we loue the Prince, when we discerne he loues vs; and he cannot manifest his loue more, then when we see he doth all for our good; and respects the generall good so much, as for it he neglects his priuate affection, and chuseth for our affections; because he knowes *That loue which is restrained from the Wombe, will hardly be yeelded to the fruit of the Wombe; or from them againe flow as it ought, vpon the poore members of the Common-wealth.*

But must Princes then be tyed to please euerie particular Subiect in their choice? God forbid: Their case then were miserable. The consent of the *State representatiue* (that is, the *Parliament*) is only necessarie; wherein the consent of euerie Subiect is included. This hath beene done, and (I suppose and desire, pardon me if I be in an errour; and rather afford me instruction, then correction) this should be done; and this, I trust, shall be done.

The ninth Obiection is, *That I wanted a lawfull vocation to warrant this Worke of mine: and that I follow extraor-*

extraordinarie examples, which are no ſafe nor ſufficient preſidents. To the firſt I anſwer, That euerie mans vocation bindes him to preuent euill, and to doe good. So that whenſoeuer I haue opportunitie to doe it, I haue a calling to doe it. For the generall calling of a Subiect, and of a Chriſtian, warrants any particular action, which I doe for the benefit of the State and Church, whereof I am a member; or for any part thereof, though my particular calling affords me no ſuch Commiſſion. For inſtance, the publike Officer hath onely a calling to execute the Law; yet I am bound by my generall calling, as a Subiect, to aſſiſt him; and in his abſence or neglect, to execute his Office, and to keepe the Peace. So the Miniſter hath onely warrant to teach publikely; yet euerie man is bound by his generall calling, as a member of the Church, to teach his erring and ignorant Brother. Yea, the *King will demand the life of his Subiect*, and *God the Soule of his Seruant*, at the hand of his Neighbour, by whoſe neglect he perished, though he had no particular calling to looke to him.

And for ſuch as ſay, That the examples which either are or may be brought to countenance this courſe of mine, are extraordinarie, and therefore not ſafe to follow: I anſwer, That therefore they are to be followed, becauſe they are extraordinarie: For ſuch examples fit extraordinarie times and occaſions beſt. And this is my comfort, that I haue God and my conſcience to witneſſe for me, that no ſiniſter ayme excited me to the Worke: And therefore I dare ſay with the Apoſtle, euen in this reſpect, *I hope I haue the Spirit of God alſo.*

The laſt Obiection, that I heare of, or can imagine, is, *That I wrote not like a Diuine, but like a fabulous Poet or*

an Hiſtorian, too full of coniectures. To write otherwiſe had beene proper indeed for me, vnproper for the ſubiect; and withall, the next way to reueale my ſelfe, when I laboured the contrarie. I was not to exhort, but to informe; and the ſight of theſe things would perſwade enough, without a ſtander by, to shew euerie propertie of the motion, or by a punctuall applycation, to worke the affection farther. That part I left to my Superiours; ſuppoſing it my part and duty only to ſet forth in liuely colours, things that might be, and things that were moſt likely to be, in one Table with ſuch things as certainly were, and were vſually accompanied with the like connexion and coherence of circumſtances and effects: knowing well, it would be too late to admonish of the danger, when they came to haue their working; as it would haue beene too late to giue warning of the *Powder plot*, (with *Garnet*) when the Match had kiſt the Powder.

Theſe and many other Obiections may be brought againſt me, (as duſt rayſed by the feete of a Droue of beaſts) but they are all as eaſily wiped off, as caſt on: Nothing ſtickes faſt, but what Power and Authoritie is pleaſed to inflict: and that may be ſtrict and ſeuere, cannot be vniuſt; whilſt the *will* of the State, (that is, the Lawe) is the rule of *Iuſtice* in all matters, but Religion.

And therefore, as I will be ſilent, and humbly ſubmit my ſelfe iuſtly and patiently to ſuffer, if it ſhall ſo iudge me worthy, and not open my mouth to defend that for innocencie, which it ſhall condemne for errour: So to all others whomſoeuer, I oppoſe my ſelfe with confidence of victorie, whatſoeuer Gyants they be, whatſoeuer artificiall weapons they bring, whilſt my integritie is armed with that ſtaffe and ſling, and pibble of *Dauids*.

1. Sam. 17. 37

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The Lord that deliuered me out of the Iaw of that roaring *Lyon* the Diuell, *and out of the Paw of that* deformed Antichristian *Beare*, Idolatry and Errour, *he will deliuer me out of the hand of this Philistine. And all this assembly shall know, that the Lord saueth not with Sword and Speare (for the Battle is the Lords)* and he will giue his *strongest enemies* into the hands of his *weakest seruants.*

I know well, whatsoeuer I can say; though their were a windore in my heart, yet some would take exceptions against me: especially now, in an age of such contrarietie and contradiction, where men seeke aduantages and occasions of contention. I know some men may condemne me to be pragmaticall in other mens affaires, or proud and selfe-conceited of some shadow of worth in my selfe; or enuious, to detract from the worth of other men, whilst I seeme to presse into their places, without a vocation, or without a cause of necessitie prouokeing my vndertakeing. To all these I make the same answer, that *Dauid* made to his Brother, mentioned in the former Treatise: *What haue I now done? Is there not a cause?* 1.Sam.17. 29. Notwithstanding all which, if any being either inuincibly blinde by ignorance, cannot; or wilfully blinde otherwise (as gifts and interest doe blinde the eyes of the wise) will not see the cause of my writing, I passe by their incurable maladies, without care or hope of recouerie: But for others that would gladly see the cause, out of a purpose to examine it; and so to condemne or approue my action vpon that ground of iudgement: to such I willingly apply my selfe, and freely deliuer the causes and motiues of my vndertaking this businesse: desiring such as reade what I write, to lay by preiudice awhile, and imagine themselues

to be what I am; and then to iudge whether or no they would haue done as I did.

I ſuppoſe it not perillous now to point at that, which the whole State hath taken notice of, and worthily reformed. I ſpake before, that there might be notice taken of the neceſſitie, and Lawes made to redreſſe enormities: for this I prayed to God and the King. I ſpeake now, becauſe there are Lawes made: for this I praiſe God, who hath opened the heart of our King, Peeres, Prelates, and People, vniting them in one, for a generall reformation of all. To paint out now, what was then, and what compel'd me then to write, is to paint out the glorie of that which now is; and to celebrate the honour of his Maieſtie, the Prince, and this Parliament to all poſteritie: by whoſe wiſdome, zeale, and diligence (next vnder God) it is, as it is.

The cauſe of penning the Booke, the Booke it ſelfe deliuers; which were the generall grieuances of the Church and State, and their farther feares. This I might well ſee, being a Member of the Multitude: my Office alſo being to ſee, to watch, to ſpeake, to blowe the Trumpet, to giue warning both of the ſinne, and of the punishment for ſinne. Truth comes ſometimes amongſt the vulgar, with whom I conuerſed. And as Famine is felt firſt by the Poore; and as Froſt ſtrikes the Valleys, when higher grounds ſcape free: So euen the Commons are they, where the diſorders of a State, & the miſchiefes approching, are firſt felt, and ſooneſt diſcerned. As Kings are for theſe, ſo Kings from theſe may gather the beſt and moſt certaine intelligence of their Domeſticke affaires: which hath made ſome Princes to diſguiſe themſelues, and come amongſt theſe, to heare how all things ſtood: and made

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me diſguiſe my ſelfe, to let his Maieſtie heare and ſee by the Market-folke (who euer talke freely and feelingly of their owne affaires) how the Market went. I ſhall not need to recapitulate what there I deliuered, but to shew the cauſe why there I deliuered it. For I muſt truly confeſſe (though to mine owne shame) that notwithſtanding all that euill which I ſaw, and felt, and feared; part whereof I collected; that collection had ſtill ſlept by me, and I with the lazie crowd (ſtupified with a Lethargie of cowardice and baſeneſſe) had contented my ſelfe to become a Galley-Slaue, or to kiſſe the Inquiſition, for feare of preſent danger, for feare of cenſure, for feare of miſconſtruction; for feare of that Lyon in the way, which deterres *Salomons* Sluggard from action, if a greater neceſſitie then perſonall reſpect, had not called me out. Prou. 22. 13.

But when I ſaw iniquitie to abound, and the loue of many to waxe cold; and all ſorts and ſexes declining from their *firſt loue*, and inclining to a generall defection. When I ſaw the man of ſinne grow ſtronger and ſtronger, and the men of God, euen the ſtrongeſt of them flagger, as perſons put to the worſt, thruſt downe into the Channell. When I beheld the ciuill Magiſtrate buſie in ſuppreſſing Ale-houſes, becauſe they were the Nurceries of Idleneſſe, Theeuerie, Beggerie, and Bawdry: and ſaw Houſes of Spirituall fornication increaſe; which robbed God of Soules, the King of Subiects; which made men Slaues to *Beggarly rudiments*, and trained them vp in idle and apish Superſtitions. Yea, when I ſaw a publike and open *Stewes of Idolatry* kept and tollerated, which bred more Papiſts in one or two yeeres, then all the Prieſts and Ieſuites had done, or could do before in twentie. *Was it not then a time to ſpeake? Was there not a cauſe?* Gal. 4. 9.

When I saw diuerse (heretofore called moderate men) goe from our *Church*, and cleaue to the *Romish*; in hope of that which all good Subiects feared. And such as professed themselues *Romane Catholikes* grow insolent and bold, euen to the prouoking of others to impatience; still boasting of their *Gyant*, and attributing euerie successe to him and his wisedome; and promising themselues euery day better and better; and threatning worse and worse to vs, whereby they encreased and heartened their owne partie, and discouraged, and diminished ours. When I saw such to be weake and vnprouided of Armes, whom the Law armed to withstand foraine Force: and such only to be the armed men, and chiefe Commanders and directors in Militarie affaires, whom the Law disarmed; as iealous and suspitious of their inclinations and affections. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw them disfurnish our Maritime Townes and Coasts of the ablest Mariners and Sea-men, to furnish and secure their owne: to defend them against the *Turke* at our cost and charges, whilst they in the meane time prooued worse to the Kings Children, and to vs, then *Turkes* could doe. When I saw them cast in scruples betwixt vs and our surest friends, to make vs fall out, that whilst we wrangle for the Sea, they might get the whole Land. When I saw them sow Schismes in the Church, to alienate our hearts from each other: so that whilst we striue and dispute about *Free-will*, they might make vs Slaues to their owne wills without controuersie. When I saw it was counted no iniustice in them to oppresse all the World; but iniustice in others to free themselues from their oppressions. *Was it not then*

a time to ſpeake? Was there not a cauſe?

When I ſaw them place and diſplace Officers of State at home and abroad; or at leaſt giue out that they did it. And that his Maieſtie might not whiſper any thing in Councell, but an exact account muſt be yeelded them; and by them againe published, to the honour of their *Champion*, the witneſſe of their ſtrength, the increaſe of their hoaſt, and to the generall ſatisfaction of their whole Faction. When I ſaw in the greateſt buſineſſe of State concerning all Chriſtendome, the eyes of all men diuerted from that obiect, by vnſeaſonable proiects and deuiſes of inferiour nature; and our timely ſupplies otherwayes preuented, and taken vp by matter of pleaſure or complement. When I ſaw the generall combination of *Romane Catholiques*, both at home and abroad, againſt the Kings Children: and the forraine enemies violent and bloudie purſuite of all aduantages againſt them, and ſuch as profeſſe the Reformed Religion. So that abroad all went to wracke, and at home no remedie was thought vpon: Whilſt *Spinola* with ſpeed enters, and poſſeſſeth the *Palatinate* with an Armie; and we ſeeke to diſpoſſeſſe him onely with perſwaſiue Arguments of amitie and iuſtice. When at home I beheld all *Romane Catholiques* bold to declare themſelues for the Emperour againſt the Kings children, and to hinder the benevolence of the Countrey by all politique and poſſible meanes: endeauouring, that either it might not be granted at all, or giuen ſparingly, and with a niggardly hand, or gathered too late, and ſo to no purpoſe. When I ſaw it was made an infallible note of a *Puritane*, and ſo *conſequently of an ill ſubiect*, to ſpeake on the behalfe of the Kings Children: and a certaine proofe of a good Proteſtant or a diſcreete and moderate

derate man, to pleade against them for the *Emperour*, and *King of Spaine*, who are euer linked and interested together in one cause. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw *Romanists* labour to breed new discontents betwixt the King and his Subiects, and to continue the old: that so the Subiect might be drained, and made either vnable or vnwilling to supply his Maiesties necessarie desires; and the King put vpon hard streights, either to indure things vnfit for his dignitie, and crosse to his free disposition, or to furnish himselfe by falling vpon their side. When I saw them endeuour, by *wringing the nose hard, to presse out blood*, hoping thus to be armed in his Maiesties colourable defence, and to haue oportunitie to draw in foraine powers on their partie. When I saw them helpe forward with art and industrie the Grieuances of the Common-wealth; that whilst the State of *Brittaine* was busie in reforming and setling those domesticke disorders, the generall State of the Christian-Common-wealth disperced thorow all Nations, might in the meane time be neglected, and left in their hands to ruine. Whilst to this end I beheld a dangerous Faction shew it selfe at home, and another breeding abroad; many English marching vnder the command of *Spinola*, to encounter the English vnder his *Excellencie*; that Banner might be against Banner, *the Seminarie of a ciuill warre*. When I saw a foraine Ambassadour giue Passes and Licences continually to *Romish Catholikes*, to goe out of *England*, to serue the King of *Spaine* in his warres in the Low-countreys; and, like a Pope, dispensing with the othes of *Supremacie* and *Allegeance*; which were made vpon such good ground, by the wisedome of our State, and haue beene

been hitherto continued in practise with happie successe, for the defence and safegard of the Kings person, the Church and State. When by this meanes, I saw the matter would be of dangerous consequence in a small time, whether they were there employed against our friends, or reuerted home vpon our selues: since all of them being interested in one case, and bound together by a mis-led conscience and blinde deuotion, would pursue their Plots with constancie, & indure all difficulties with resolution, so they might effect it: whilst ours (I meane, the common Souldier) being, for the most part, the off-scouring of our Nation, was led to the warre more by couetousnesse to the wages, then by conscience to the worke. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw the Common-wealth hunted like a Deare to death, and now at a stand readie to fall: whilst euerie man with a seuerall proiect sought his priuate profit, as Hounds after the Chase expect their reliefe. When I saw the poore Commons silently groning vnderneath these pressures, and no man either willing, or daring to make them known to him, whom it most concerned, and who only had power to remedie these mischiefes. Yea, when I heard a generall despaire close vp the hearts of all men, that they should neuer see Parliament againe (which Court was the onely absolute, certaine and speedie discouerer, and remoouer of all such mightie enormities; and in defect whereof, these had presumptuously shot vp, & ouerspred the Church and State in a short time) I could not chuse (the zeale of God, the loue of my Countrey, dutie to my King and his Children, and indignation to behold the enemies of all these triumphing, presenting themselues to my consideration, as to a man distracted

with ſorrow and aſtonishment) but at length breake ſi-
Heſt.4 16. lence, with the reſolution of *Heſter*, *If I perish, I perish. For was there not a time to ſpeake? Was there not a cauſe?*

Mar.4.38. The bleſſed Apoſtles are in a Ship with our Sauiour, the Windes roare, the Sea rageth, the Ship is toſt like a Tennis-ball with the ſtorme, and filled halfe full with water readie to ſinke; the whilſt our Sauiour ſeemes to ſleepe. The Apoſtles affrighted, awake him with this acclamation (I might ſay, obiurgation) *Maſter, careſt thou not that we perish?* And yet they are not for this challenged of treaſon or diſobedience. I heare the Windes chidden, and enioyned ſilence, the Waues ſuppreſſed, and commanded to be calme: I ſee the enemies that diſturbed the Church and State reprooued: the Apoſtles are onely taught and admonished to haue more Faith.

This Ship is the Church, is the State: the Windes, the Waues, the Rockes, the Sands, and (more then all theſe) profeſt Pirates aſſault it. It concernes vs all to looke about vs, euen from the Maſter to the Ship-boy. Nor ſhall it (I hope) be a capitall crime in me to awake the Supreme Gouernour, the *Defender of the Faith*, with the peoples voyce, *Maſter, careſt thou not that we perish?*

Dauid, or ſome other holy Prophet, is bolder yet with Almightie God, then the Apoſtles were here with our Sauiour; and in the name of the whole Church, with the *voyce of the people*, doth as it were vpbraid God, ſaying,
Pſal.44. *In God we boaſt all the day long, and praiſe thy Name for euer & euer. But thou haſt caſt vs off, and put vs to ſhame, and goeſt not forth with our Armies. Thou makeſt vs to turne backe from the Enemie, and they that hate vs ſpoyle*

for

for themselues. Thou hast giuen vs as Sheepe appointed for meat, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Thou sellest thy people for nought, and doest not encrease thy wealth by their price. Thou makest vs a reproch vnto our Neighbours, a scorne and derision to them that are round about vs. Thou makest vs a by-word among the Heathen: a shaking of the head among the people &c. Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, cast vs not off for euer. Wherefore hidest thou thy face and forgettest our affliction and oppression? For our Soule is bowed downe to the dust: our belly cleaueth vnto the Earth. Arise for our helpe, and redeeme vs for thy mercies sake, &c. Thus they expostulate the case with God, as if he had forgot himselfe: whilst notwithstanding, we doe not heare their Faith reprehended for this, but rather commended to our imitation. And yet should a Subiect so deale with a Soueraigne, one man with another (though there were iust cause of the complaint) What a Traytour should he be thought? What a seuere censure should he vndergoe? Whilst flatterie with tickling and scratching the itching humors of men, hath made the eares so tender, as we cannot endure the least rough touch of Faith and Truth. 2 Tim. 4. 3

Behold me, in the same state that *Dauid* describes himselfe to be, in the 39 *Psalme*, where he saith: *I thought I will take heed to my waies, that I offend not with my tongue. I will keepe my mouth bridled, whilst the wicked is in my sight. I was dumbe and spake nothing: I kept silence euen from good, and my sorrow was more stirred. Mine heart was hot within me, and I spake with my tongue.* Ps. 39. And like *Ieremie, I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speake any more in his Name, but his Word was in my heart like burning fire, shut vp in my bones, and I was* Ier. 20. 9.

wearie with forbearing, and I could not ſtay: for I had heard the rayling of many, and feare came on euerie ſide.

And vndoubtedly whatſoeuer cold blood may moderately thinke, or ſtoicall Atheiſts (who haue quenched the Spirit in themſelues) reſolue and doe, whilſt they iudge it frenzie or diſtemperature in other men (as *Feſtus* iudged of *Paul*) to haue liuing affections: yet aſſuredly when God fills the heart, the mouth muſt run ouer. *I beleeued, therefore I ſpake*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*. *Infidels* may eaſily be ſilent, for it concernes them not to ſpeake on Gods behalf, with whom they haue nothing to doe. But *Truth* will haue vent, or breake the Veſſell that containes it: for God fills it, to haue it vttered, and not bottelled or barrelled vp in ſilence. *The Lyon hath roared, who will not heare? The Lord hath ſpoken, who can but prophecie?* *We cannot but ſpeake the things which we haue ſeene and heard*, ſay the Apoſtles. And of S. *Paul* it is recorded, that while he waited for *Sylas* and *Timotheus* at *Athens*, his Spirit was ſtirred in him, when he ſaw the Citie wholly giuen to Idolatry. God brought him thither to ſee and to heare; and ſtayed him there, that he might haue his heart ſtirred: So that from the aboundance of his heart, his mouth might ſpeake what he knew.

Act. 26 24 Pſ. 116. 10. Amos 3. 8. Act. 4. 20. Mat. 12. 34

I may ſay, this was my caſe in ſome ſort: I did not ſee *all the City*, but a great part giuen to Idolatry: I did not ſee *all the Kingdome*, but a great part returning toward *Babylon*, euen of thoſe that had made a faire progreſſe before towards *Ieruſalem*. My heart was ſtirred when I beheld this; and I hope ſtirred by the Spirit of God: as the Apoſtle ſaith in another place, *I thinke I haue the Spirit alſo.*

1 Cor. 7. 40

But ſome may ſay, I ought to haue attended the leiſure of

of my Superiours, Elders, and betters. Alas, ſo I did, till I was wearie with waiting, hauing no hope of helpe. So that I might well ſay with *Elihu*, *I am young in yeeres, and ye are ancient; therefore I doubted and was afraid to shew mine opinion. For I ſaid, the dayes ſhall ſpeake, and the multitude of yeeres ſhall teach wiſedome. Surely there is a Spirit in man, but the inſpiration of the Almightie giueth vnderſtanding. Great men are not alway wiſe, neither do the aged alway vnderſtand iudgement. Therefore I ſay, heare me, and I will ſhew alſo my opinion. Behold, I did wait vpon your words, and hearkned vnto your knowledge, whilſt you ſought out reaſons, &c.* Iob 32. 6.

But when I perceiued no reaſon would come forth, I would not let *Truth* receiue preiudice by my ſilence: but *then I anſwered in my turne, and shewed my opinion. For I am full of matter, and the Spirit within me compelled me. Behold, my belly is as the Wine which hath no vent, and like the new Bottels which braſt. Therefore will I ſpeake, that I may take breath: I will open my lips and anſwer. I will not now accept the perſon of man, neither will I giue Titles to man: for I may not giue Titles, leſt my Maker should take me away ſuddenly.* And why ſo? Surely becauſe herein to forbeare ſpeech in regard of man, had beene to honour man more then God. And yet I muſt truly confeſſe, I was as much perplexed and troubled in this buſineſſe, as *Daniel* was, when commanded by King *Nebuchadnezzar* to interpret his dreame; the Text ſaith, *He held his peace for the ſpace of an houre, and his thoughts troubled him.* Doubleſſe, he did not ſtudie ſo long to finde out the truth, which God reuealed to him; but how to deliuer that truth ſafely, becauſe it concerned the King and State. For *Truth* hath euer almoſt beene called Dan. 4. 19.

Amos 7. 11, 12. *Treason* at Court, and banished the Chappell there long since, in the time of *Amazia*: yea, in those dayes they *hated him that rebuked in the Gate*; and they *abhorred him that spake vprightly*. Therefore the *prudent shall keepe silence in that time, for it is an euill time*. And I know of old, that when truth is there spoken where it toucheth the quicke, it is time for the speaker to flee; yea sometimes from the presence of good Princes, till they come to themselues againe: For *nemo omnibus horis sapit*. And the reason hereof is, because Satan knowes it concernes Princes especially to know truth; for that their example and command is a great meanes to promote it. Therefore he labours to banish it from their presence; and to this end entertaines and armes his Pensioners (Flatterers, those tame Beasts, toothlesse Traytours) to staue it off with many pretie pretences, colourable enough, being dyed deepe in Hypocrisie, Policie, and Court-craft. So we see all men, especially Princes, loue to be praysed; and neuer suspect such as flatter them, though they would, if they should counsell them. An example we haue in *Charles*, the great Duke of *Burgundie*, who suspected the King of *France*, *Lewes* the eleuenth, when he gaue him good counsell: but when he praysed his valour, and flattered him grossely to his face, then he liked him verie well, and thought all to be truth that he said.

Am. 5. 10. Am. 5. 13. 2 Chr. 16. 10. Com. lib. 2. ca. 13. li. 5. cap. 6.

Now as it is not euer safe therefore to speake truth to Greatnesse, though linked with personall goodnesse: so it is neuer safe to breath it in the eares of the wicked: whose mercie is crueltie, and whose hearts God doth harden, that they shall not attend or giue credit to good counsell, by whomsoeuer it be brought: but they shall willingly entertaine euill counsell whosoeuer giues it; because

Sap. 2. 12.

God

God hath determined to destroy them, and root them vp. So that as we see when sicke men haue lost their hearing, and sight, and feeling, their friends begin to prouide them of Blackes, because these are the Symptomes of weakenesse preceding, and of death presently ensuing: So assuredly a State whose eares are stopt, be it with *Cotton* (as the eares of *Henrie* the fourth of *France* were) or be it with any other Stuffe; that State is at the last gasp, and ripe towards rottennesse. For if good counsell from God cannot enter into the eares, by the tongue of the faithfull, which is Gods Instrument to that end: then assuredly euill counsell shall haue power to enter into the heart, by Satans Instrument, the hand of a Traytour, and perhaps finde the neerest way thither. For such Ministers of death and destruction, are their Crafts-masters in the art of Murther: first, murthering the Soule by flatterie and falsehood, and then the body by the hand of some Paricide. Thus it is said of *Iuda*, *That the Lord God of their Fathers sent to them by his Messengers, rising earely and sending: for he had compassion of his people, and on his habitation. But they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, vntill the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, and till there was no remedie.* So when it comes to this passe, that men will not *heare*, then we see there is no remedie, but they must *feele*. And to this end *Salomon* saith, *A man that hardeneth his necke when he is admonished, shall suddenly be destroyed, and cannot be cured.* And to this end One saith well; *That good successe issuing from bad counsell, is more to be feared, then calamitie: inasmuch as the one breeds a foolish confidence, the other teacheth men to be warie.* *Commines* hath obserued this long since in his great Duke of *Burgundie*;

1 King. 12. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. 2 Chr. 25. 16.

* Cotton the Iesuite was the Kings confessor, and so had opportunitie to know the Kings counsels, & to stop his eares by vertue of his Office from all honest and wholsome information.

2 Chr. 36. 15, 16.

Prou. 29. 1

History of the world, fol. 442.

Comlib. 2 cap. 12.

who hauing once good lucke by following his owne way and will, against the opinion of all the rest of his Councellours, did then learne such a restie tricke, as he would neuer after be ruled or aduised; but like a head-strong Horse, ran away wilfully with the Bit in his mouth, till he cast the rider. But good and wise Princes are farre otherwise; their eares are open, though their hearts be lockt close. And doubtlesse, a Land is happie that hath such: and then it is another happinesse to them that are such, to haue good, wise, faithfull, and bold Seruants; that both *will* out of loue, and *can* out of knowledge, and *dare* out of courage (the true ground of ancient *Nobilitie*, and for which Kings vouchsafed to call them *Comites*, Companions; and *Cognatos*, Kinsmen; to embolden and assure their faith and familiarities) aduise boldly and truly vpon euerie occasion. Of such as these *Ezekias* was destitute, when he vainly shewed his Treasure to the Ambassadors of *Babylon*, who came to congratulate his recouerie: So
2 Chr. 32. 31. that it is said of him, *That in the businesse of the Ambassadours of the Princes of Babylon, who sent vnto him to enquire of the wonder that was done in the Land, God left him to trie him, that he might know all that was in his heart.* God meant to humble him, and therefore bereft him of Councell, or a heart to follow it. And by this meanes did discouer his personall disabilitie and weakenesse, not onely to himselfe, but to others; that the wisedome of God might be onely magnified, and foolish man might not rely vpon Princes. Of such as these also the King of *France* was scanted in his iourney to *Italy*; of
Com. lib. 8 cap. 3. whom *Commines* saith, *That he lacked a bold and faithfull Councellour, to tell him of the danger he stood in.* Is it not featefull, that a Prince should be in danger, and none about

about him dare tell him so? Indeed he can fall into no greater danger then he is in already, who conuerseth with such, as either cannot, or will not, or dare not speake truth, for feare of losing the place they hold, or the fauour they enioy, or the next suit they looke for. Therefore *Siracides* aduiseth Princes to seeke counsell, and command it, where men are nice to giue it freely; and that they should take all occasions to informe themselues of *necessarie truths*: Pro. 28. 26
as wise men for want of a Looking-glasse, will make shift Pro. 27. 19
to dresse themselues by a payle of cleere water. Thus no intelligence is to be sleighted; nay, oftentimes both the counsell and intelligence of meane persons is more profitable, then of wiser and better men; because these speake freely; the other, with reference to *fauour*, and their owne *fortune. Roma vbi Publicolas, Æmilios, Fabritios, Curios, Scipiones, Scauros, paupertatis, continentiæq; amantissimos, Imperatores sibi deligebat* (saith *Polidore Virgil*) *incredibile memoratu est, quàm breui creuerit, quantumq; cum ipsa præclarè ageretur: è contrario, vbi Senator censu legebatur, Iudex fiebat Censu, Magistratum Ducémq; nil magis exornabat quàm census, captatio in questu fertilissimo, ac sola gaudia in possidendo erant. pessum adeò ire cæpit, vt nusquam ejus status consistere potuerit.* Pol. Virg. de inuent. rerum. l. 2. cap. 3. This obseruation all times and States haue approued for true; and found, that together with this corruption, all other mischiefes rush in at the same doore, to the vndoing and confounding of all. And perhaps it is from hence, that men say, They must goe into the Countrey to heare the newes of the Court: because in the Court men dare not speake what they know, and what they ought, for feare of losing that preferment, which the Countrey-man lookes not after. And thus there is such a generall conspiracie against

Plainenesse in such places, by reason of the necessarie dependancie that one man hath of another; the Inferiour of his Superiour, and all of the highest, that it is impossible, that *Truth* which is knowne to the lowest, should euer arriue at the eares of the highest, though the knowledge of all, concernes him aboue all. Therefore intelligence is to be taken any way, euery way; and the man of wisdome can make good vse of all: according to that of *Micah*,

Mich. 6.9. *If the Lords voyce cryeth vnto the Citie, the man of wisedome shall see thy Name, heare thy Rod, and who hath appointed it.* The man of wisedome sees God in all, and seekes for him in all; as *Dauid* sees him euen in rayling *Shemi*. And as a wittie Gentleman once said, *That he could picke some good thing out of euerie Ballad:* so a wise man findes preseruatiues in poyson; and precious Stones, or that which exceedes them, plentie, and fertilitie in a dunghill.

Now then suppose there were no other vse of that which I haue written, yet it sets forth truly the disposition of the Commons; a *Beast* (if they list to call it so, and count it so, and make it so) that is not to be contemned: for if it hath many heads, it hath more hands. And I neuer yet could reade of Prince, who contemned his peoples affections, and wilfully contradicted their generall desires, without great *perill*; at least without some *preiudice*.

King 12. 15. Eccl. 47. 23. This (that we looke no neerer) see in *Rehoboam*, of whom it is said; *That by the counsell of young men, who counselled for themselues, the King hearkened not to his people: for it was the ordinance of God, &c.* And when the people saw that the King regarded them not, the people answered the King thus, saying; *What portion haue we in Dauid? We haue no inheritance in the Sonne of Ishai. To your Tents,*

O Iſrael: now ſee to thine owne houſe Dauid. So Iſrael departed vnto their Tents, &c. And had it not beene better thoſe exactions should haue beene taken off, rather then kept on, to the vexing of the Subiect, and the loſſe of their loues and loyalties? They required not to haue their yoke taken away; they would be yoked ſtill: but onely to haue their yoke lined, made more fit, light, eaſie, &c. yet this courteſie could not be granted them. For the *young Councellours* would none of that: becauſe perhaps it concerned them, and they had from thence the principall maintenance of their ſuperfluities. Thus on both ſides they ſeemed to haue forgot their duties: The *King* his, to reſpect and tender them; the *People* theirs, to obay him. For the dutie of Prince and people are reciprocall: and though no man will or can excuſe a people, or iuſtifie their diſobedience (their obedience being of abſolute neceſſitie) yet there may be cauſes to prouoke them to diſobedience, which all wiſe Princes haue euer ſhunned carefully; deſiring to giue them contentment; though in giuing it, they croſt their owne iudgements. So we ſee, though *Achiſh* loues *Dauid* well, & deſired to haue him ſtay in the Armie; yet becauſe it likes not his Peeres and people, he ſends him backe from the Field. 1 Sam. 29. 6, 7.

And *Dauid* againe, at the admonition of *Ioab* (a bold Councellour, and a happie in that) puts off his mourning habite, after the loſſe of his beſt beloued Sonne, and courts his people in publike like a Triumpher, much againſt his owne minde. And ſee the iſſue hereof ſet downe in the fourteenth Verſe: *So* (that is, by this wiſe temporizing, as I may ſay, of his, and humoring of the people) *he bowed the hearts of all the men of Iuda as one man:* Therefore they ſent to the King, ſaying, *Returne thou with all thy* 2 Sam. 19. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Seruants, &c. Whilst he bent to them, he bent them: as a Bow of steele, which bends to the string, since the string cannot be stretched to it. *Dauid* may safely and easily yeeld the people what they desire, because it proceedes from their loue. And therefore *Ioab* is bold to say, *Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy Seruants, which this day haue saued thy life, and the liues of thy Sonnes and of thy Daughters; and the liues of thy Wiues and the liues of thy Concubines; In that thou loueſt thy enemies, and hateſt thy friends: for thou haſt declared this day, that thou regardeſt neither thy Princes nor Seruants: therefore this day I perceiue, that if Abſalon had liued, and we had all dyed this day, that then it ſhould haue pleaſed thee well. Now therefore ariſe, goe forth, and ſpeake comfortably vnto thy Seruants: for I ſweare by the Lord if thou goe not forth, there will not tarie one with thee this night, and that will be worſe vnto thee then all the euill which befell thee from thy youth vntill now.*

2 Sam. 19. 5.

Surely, this was bold, but happie counſell. It might haue beene deliuered in better termes, after a more reuerent manner; but the counſell it ſelfe is neuer the worſe for lacke of ſome circumſtances. And had it beene giuen by a ſimple *Leuite*, or a poore Doore-keeper, as it was by a principall Captaine, the counſell had beene neuer the worſe, nor the King counted leſſe wiſe for liſtening to it. For we ſee that which *Ioab* did here of himſelfe, for lacke of another conuenient inſtrument, he performes happely in another place, by the helpe of a poore woman of *Tekoah*. Neither was it counted a fault in her, that both her perſon and ſpeech was borrowed and fained, ſince the intention was good, and the ſucceſſe happie. We ſee ſometimes Kings are content in Playes and Maskes to be admonished

2 Sam. 14.

monished of diuers things: *ye ſuffer Fooles willingly* (ſaith the Apoſtle) and great reaſon ſometime: for Fooles and Children will often ſpeake truth (and therefore ſuch as ſpeake ſo are counted Fooles or Children) they know no more how to flatter (except they be taught) then *Zenophons* Horſe; which therefore makes his Prince a good Horſe-man. The weaker the information be, the greater ſtrength of iudgement doth he ſhew, that can make good vſe of it: as good Phyſitions behold the ſtate of the ſicke patient, in his Vrine or Excrements. 2 Cor. 11. 19.

Now then may not I cry out with *Ioab*, or the woman of *Tekoah*, *What is this that I haue done which cauſeth Dauid to be incenſed againſt me?* Did I tell thee, thy people were grieued? I know by this time thou knoweſt it to be true. Did I tell thee, *they were readie to depart?* I tolde thee nothing but truth: there was nothing ſtayed them but *Religion*; which, as it ſtrings them to each other, ſo it tyes them ſtrongly to thee. *Weare them as Bracelets on thy armes, and as a Royall Chaine vpon thy necke* (O Soueraigne.) No Prince hath ſuch a people; nor can all the *Romane-Catholike Kingdomes* in the World boaſt of ſo much loyaltie. Let me be bold to aske, What is it that thy people ſeeke? Is it not thy good, as well as their owne, and thy ſafetie, as well as theirs? Are they not readie to doe thee all poſſible ſeruice? Nay, art not thou forced to reſtraine them from ſpending their goods and bloods for thee and thine? Haue they rebelled againſt thee, or ſeemed diſobedient to thee in any thing, but in louing thee more then ſome thinke meet, who call their zeale a fault? Or haue they ſought thy deſtruction, or conſpired to *blow-vp* thy Perſon and Poſteritie? Or is it becauſe ſome of thoſe that would doe thus to thee and

thine; labour to perſwade thee that they loue thy Children too well, to loue thee as they ought? And thus ſeeke to diuide thee from vs, from thine owne Flesh, from thy ſelfe: that they might wholly poſſeſſe thee; that they might ingroſſe thy Power and Raigne; that they might effect what they ſeeke, the ruine of thee; and in thee, the ruine of *Religion?* Who wonders not, that it should be wiſedome, for foure and fortie yeeres together to reſtraine them; and now wiſedome to enlarge their Tents? That in the yeere 1605 the King and whole State should ioyne, to ordaine perpetuall Lawes againſt them; and a memorable repetition of the almoſt incredible cauſe; and now in ſo short a time, the ſame wiſedome should ſilence thoſe Lawes, and pull downe that Pillar of Salt ſet vp for an admonition to all poſteritie; as if they would perſwade the world that the foule fact had not beene true, but fayned, and therefore now the Law was repealed or ſilenced as an Act of Iniuſtice? And yet is your Maieſtie, out of your ſuperaboundant clemencie, diſpoſed to ſpare them? Why who withſtands it, nay who deſires it not, if the Truth might yet be ſafe? Who pitties not the Errour of their Conſciences? Who loues not their perſons? Who prayes not for them, whilſt they curſe vs? Who would not beare with many things for their ſakes, and for Vnities, if they would be quiet, if they might be truſted? But whilſt we ſee they make no conſcience to maſſacre vs where they haue power; to inuade vs, where they can borrow or procure it; to blow vs vp by traynes and treaſon, where they haue no open abilitie to effect their deſires: When we ſee they hold no faith with vs, but onely for their owne aduantage, can you blame vs, if we wish you and yours out of their armes; and are iealous of your life

life and safetie, whilst we are assured of their hate and malice?

Thus I might expostulate the case with his Maiestie, but I intend not to follow a course which may be any way distastfull or doubtfull. Those times are too old and too good to be presidents to these; besides, the inequality of the persons affords me small freedome. What *Dauid* heard with patience, binds not others: What *Ioab* the Generall did, is no warrant for me. I therefore to auoid all occasion or suspition of arrogancie, flye to his Maiesties Words and Workes for my warrant, from whence I fetch proofe to manifest; *First*, the desperate estate of things, and the tickle points, and nice termes whereupon they stood when I first did write: *Secondly*, the necessitie of speedie reformation: *Thirdly*, the good office of such as gaue the Information; without which, the mischiefe would haue broken out past remedie, before the disease could haue beene discouered. And the course that I entend to take and follow herein, is to speake of the State at home & abroad, and of Religion respectiuely in all parts; because these are intermixt and wouen together, and participate of prosperitie and aduersitie, and partake all passions of ioy and sorrow, with each other in common.

To this end, behold in the first place that most worthy speech which his Maiestie made to the Parliament on Munday, the 26 of *March*, 1621: as if a Father had spoken to his Children, wherein he acknowledgeth the grieuances of the Common wealth, saying; *I doe assure you in the heart of an honest man and by the Faith of a Christian King (which both ye, and all the World know me to be) had these things beene complained of vnto me, before the Parliament, I would haue done the Office of a Iust King;*

and out of Parliament haue puniſhed them as ſeuerely; and peraduenture more then ye haue intended to doe.

Now then what did I but complaine in the *Voyce of the People*, that their *Grieuances* might come to his Maieſties eares? Whom I beleeued to be ſuch, as his words and actions teſtifie: readie to take information of truths, and to redreſſe them; but that the voyce and cry of his oppreſſed Subiects was kept from his eares, by ſuch as oppreſt them; as Wolues howle and barke, that the vigilant Shepheard may not heare the worried Lambes bleate.

But it may be obiected, *There was no cauſe of this cry in generall, but of one or two particulars.* Heare then his Maieſtie farther taking notice of the generall clamour, preſently after in the ſame Speech, ſaying: *I confeſſe I am aſhamed (theſe things prouing ſo, as they generally are reported to be) that it was not my good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation, and puniſhment of them, by ſome ordinarie Courts of Iuſtice.*

Is his Maieſtie aſhamed, that ſuch things are done vnder his noſe (as they ſay) without his knowledge? O ſhameleſſe wretches, who did that, which cauſed this ſhame in his Royall Maieſtie. Are not you aſhamed to doe it, whilſt he is aſhamed to heare it to be done? Shall it be a ſhame and ſin in me to admonish him of it, when he is aſhamed not to haue knowne it before? Is he ſorrie it was not his good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation; and ſhall I be ſorrie, that it was my good fortune to be one of the firſt that complained on the behalfe of others (being ſafe my ſelfe) ſo that he might heare and reforme? I trow not.

But it may againe be obiected, *That his Maieſtie had diuers neere about him, who could & would better informe him*

him of theſe things, then my ſelfe. I doubt not the truth of this, that he had many about him, that would, if they could: but many of theſe not conuerſing with the people, were not ſenſible of their ſufferings, nor could haue beene induced to beleeue halfe of that to be true, which now they ſee manifeſtly. Others could, but would not, either becauſe themſelues, or their friends were intereſted in the buſineſſe. Others both could and would, but theſe were not euer the greateſt in number, or greateſt of power: they were vnable to meet that mightie oppoſition, which they beheld prepared and armed euer at hand to beare them downe: they were loth to be accounted *ſingular perſons*, or *male-contents*: they were afraid of loſing their own *Liberties*, *Offices*, and *Liuings*, whilſt they endeuoured to doe good Offices for the life and liberties of others. Otherwiſe it had beene impoſſible theſe diſorders in ſo short a time, should haue gotten ſuch roote and head, and growne vp to ſuch an height.

O happie Parliament therefore; and (as his Maieſtie ſtyled it) likely then to be the happieſt Parliament that euer was in *England*. Happie to reueale this, happie to reforme this, and happie to me alſo, to approue with their wiſedome much of the matter of my complaint; (if not the manner of deliuerie) had there not beene a generall deſpaire of ſeeing a *Parliament* againe, I had not written at all, but ſtayed and expected their leiſure and pleaſure. But when I had written, and ſaw there was offence taken, and no credit giuen to my report, I gaue way to the time; praying God, who moued his Maieſties heart to ſummon a Parliament; by whom I knew he should be informed of the truth beyond my report, and ſo my ſuppoſed error made knowne to be good ſeruice. Happie therefore am I

in them: and happie are they being iuſtified by ſuch as they haue cenſured and condemned. Heare then the late Lord *Chancellour* accuſe the times, iuſtifie the Parliamentarie proceedings, & helping to excuſe me, whilſt he ſaith: *In the midſt of a State of as great affliction, as I thinke, a mortall man can endure (honour being aboue life) I ſhall begin with the profeſſing of gladneſſe in ſome things; The firſt is, that hereafter the greatneſſe of a Iudge or Magiſtrate will be no Sanctuarie or protection of guiltineſſe, which in few words is the beginning of a Golden world.* Thus *He:* And who knew more in theſe things then he? Who could ſay more to purpoſe then he? So that it ſeemes before it was otherwiſe, and that was the effect of an Iron-age; when *Greatneſſe* might be euill with ſecuritie, and doe euill with warrant. But heare from the ſame perſon another cauſe of ioy: *The next is* (ſaith he) *that after this example, it is likely the Iudges will flee from any thing, that is in the likeneſſe of Corruption (though it were at a great diſtance) as from a Serpent: which tendeth to the purging of Courts of Iuſtice, and reducing them to their true honour and ſplendour.* Thus *He.* And this I note from him, that *Corruption* was a Companion to Courts; and *Bribes* were not ſhunned, but taken from Satan in ſhape of a *Wife*, or Friend, or Child, or Seruant, as *Euah* and *Adam* tooke the Apple from the Serpent without ſuſpecting the ſucceſſe.

It is hard with the whole Body, when the Stomach that ſhould feed all, and concoct nourishment, is foule and diſtempered: when the Liuer which ſhould water all, is ſmitten with infection: and it is hard with the ſicke Patient, when the Phiſitian is diſtempered: yet this was our caſe by the confeſſion of the chiefe Phiſitian himſelfe;

himselfe; who saith, *The Courts which should purge all, lackt purging themselues; and they which should reduce all things to right, and giue vice the due punishment, and vertue the due honour it deserueth, stood in need of others to reduce them to that honour and splendour from which they were fallen.* What is this but that which God saith, *Ezech. 22. 27, 28. Her Princes in the midst thereof are like Wolues, rauening the Prey, to shed blood and to destroy Soules for their owne lukre. And her Prophets haue dawbed them with vntempered Mortar, seeing vanities, and deuining lyes vnto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord had not spoken.* And *Esay, 10. 1, 2. Woe vnto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grieuous things, to keepe backe the poore from iudgement, and to take away the iudgement of the poore of my people, that widowes may be their prey, and that they may spoile the fatherlesse. What will ye doe now in the day of your visitation and destruction which shall come from farre? To whom will ye flee for helpe? And where will you leaue your glorie?* And *Ierem. 17. 11. As the Partrich gathereth the young, which she hath not brought forth: So he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leaue them in the midst of his dayes, and at his end shall be a Foole.* And *Ierem. 22. 15. Shalt thou reigne, because thou closest thy selfe in Cedar? Did not thy Father eat, and drinke, and prosper, when he executed iudgement and iustice?* Surely all this, and much more to this purpose contained in the Booke of God, was well knowne to this great man, who was able to teach others both in Diuinitie, and Moralitie, and Policie. But either the heighth of prosperitie so amazeth the eyes of men, as it makes them vertiginous, vnable to remember where they are, what they were, and to consider what they may

be, before they may be precipitated to ruine: or elſe the voyce of poore men beneath cannot reach ſo high, except they ſtraine themſelues to ſing *Placentia*. For they contemne all that is vnder them, and whilſt they know all that the poore Miniſter knowes, and more too, and can ſpeake as well as he, and much better, they thinke ſcorne to be admonished of the leaſt errour or danger by them; forgetting their vocation, and how they may be directed by God to them, as *Nathan* was to *Dauid*. I doubt not *Dauid* knew all that *Nathan* knew, and more too, and could ſpeake as well as *Nathan* or perhaps much better: but this did not hinder him from entertaining the Ambaſſage of God, and from taking occaſion hereby to ſee, confeſſe, and come out of his ſinne, that ſo he might auoid the iudgement of God. Yet I am perſwaded, he that in the time of this *Great mans* proſperitie, ſhould haue boldly and honeſtly brought theſe things home, and applyed them to him by way of admonition, ſhould perhaps haue beene as much regarded, as now the like would be at the hand of his like, who thinke they cannot fall no more then he thought, and arme themſelues againſt all Errours, but that wherein God will haue their wiſedomes taken. Nay, it were well, if they onely ſleighted his Meſſage, and counted him a mad-fellow (as the Courtiers and the Cap-
2 Kin. 9. 11 taines in *Iehues* time counted the Prophets) that ſhould ſo plainly deale with them: but perhaps he ſhould fall into a kind of *Inquiſition*, and be committed to priſon, and preſented to ſome Court of cenſure, to be vndone for his good will. For this is ſure, many Courts had wont to be (for I hope they are now mended) like S. *Winifrids* Needle in *Rippon*; you cannot paſſe thorough, till you be naked, and free from all impediments; and ſtript you muſt be, for

therefore

therefore came you thither; and till you be ſtript, you may be innocent, but you cannot appeare to be ſo. This is that which *Siracides* ſaith: *If a rich man offend he hath many helpers, he ſpeaketh proud words, and yet men iuſtifie him: but if a poore man faile they rebuke him; and though he ſpeake wiſely, yet can he haue no place. When the rich man ſpeaketh, euerie man holdeth his tongue; and looke what he ſaith, they praiſe it vnto the Clouds: but if the poore man ſpeake, they ſay, What fellow is this? and if he do amiſſe, they will deſtroy him.* Ecc. 13.22, 23.

And yet truly it had beene eaſie to haue foretold theſe things before, by obſeruing the times, the manners, the actions of men, and the iudgements of God threatned vpon ſuch. For God is not a *God only neere hand, and not afarre off alſo:* What he threatens he will doe; be it to Prieſt, or Prince, or People. And thus it were no difficult matter to prophecie, that is, to foretell the certaine iudgements of God for certaine ſinnes, by comparing times and things wiſely together. For repentance and mercie may diuert the execution of Gods iudgement publiquely declared, nothing elſe can. And in this ſence alſo, I doubt not is *preaching* in the Goſpel called *prophecying*; with reſpect to the Law, and to the iudgements therein denounced, obſeruing times and comparing like ſinnes and punishments together. And would to God this kind of prophecying were more vſed, and better beleeued, that Preachers might be more reſpected, or left at libertie to be taught by God, without limitation of man, and to ſay what God hath done lately, as well as what God hath done long ſince: But we haue no ſuch cuſtome, no ſuch freedome, nor the preſent Churches of God. Yet *Dauid* could ſay in his time, and we ſee it true in ours; *When* Ier. 23.23. 1 Cor. 11. 16. Pſ. 141.6.

their Iudges are ouerthrowne in Stonie places, they shall heare my words, for they are sweet. When these things are come to passe, and they feele the smart of their folly, then they are content to heare of it: *But who hath beleeued onr report before? Or to whom is the Arme of the Lord reuealed?*

Es. 53. 1.

As for that which some say, of giuing information of those *Vices of the time* (as that learned Lord cals them) by an ordinarie course: I answer, Ordinarie courses are for ordinarie crimes: but that ordinarie course failing (as here it did) and extraordinarie crimes arising, and extraordinarie practises appearing, and extraordinarie feares prouoking euerie man, *Necessitie* droue me to seeke out an extraordinarie meanes of remedie; as Nature being costiue, betakes her selfe to vomite. For I beheld what would be the issue of these things, if no body stept vp to giue the onset: As *Mathias* and his friends debate the case with each other, vpon that Massacre, or *Sicilian* Euen-Song, or Powder-plot, which fell among them: *If we all doe as our brethren haue done* (say they) *and fight not against the Heathen for our Liues, and for our Lawes, then shall they incontinently destroy vs out of the Earth:* And if we looke not about vs (might I then haue said) and bestirre vs nimbly, either our Friends will eat vs vp at home by *Suites* and *Proiects*; or our Enemies abroad, by *Plots* and *Practises*: Some therefore must breake the Ice, to shew others the danger: for to waite and stay then for a Rule or Law to warrant my Fact, had beene to run mad with Reason, and to seeke Phisicke for a dead man. All subordinate Courts are to take information by ordinarie and regular courses: Kings are the extreamest Circle; Lines are drawne from the Center to them, and informa-

Vitia temporis.

Maec. 2. 40

tion

tion muſt come to them by any meanes. Their eares are long, and touch vpon euerie Subiects tongue; and great reaſon: for they are thoſe that muſt reforme the Iudges themſelues; and aboue them there is no Iudge but God. We are then to flee to them in neceſſitie, and not before; and this was my caſe, and this I did.

Now becauſe I could not come to ſpeake; or if I had, the particulars had been too many to deliuer at an inſtant; and my danger in this modeſt, bashfull, and religious age (which makes nice onely to heare that euill reported and reproued, which it makes not nice, but glories to commit) had beene greater then my ſtrength could withſtand: Therefore I tooke that courſe which God commands to *Eſay, Chap. 30. Verſ. 8. I wrote it in a Booke:* By which meanes I had hope it ſhould arriue at his Maieſties hand more ſafely then by any other paſſage: And ſo (as I heare) it did; and ſince that all foraine actions haue concurred to make good my coniectures; or rather the vulgar voyce and opinion of the people deliuered by my Pen. And time will yet make it more cleere (I feare) to the coſt of vs, and of our friends; except God take the cauſe in hand: And at home that moſt high and honourable Court of Parliament, hath ſo opened the whole Myſterie of Iniquitie, that none need doubt the truth of any thing I wrot, but rather wonder that I wrote no more.

For confirmation of this, heare his Maieſtie in his own words to that short-liued Parliament, *Anno 1621*, moſt elegantly clearing this point, whilſt he acknowledgeth the *Face of the Common-wealth was ſhewed him faire and fat, but the Body hidden, which was in a Conſumption.* They put on the beſt pretences of all things, and made it their daily care, by art and induſtry, to keepe his Maieſtie from

ſeeing or hearing the truth. Heare what he ſaith: *And now I confeſſe, that when I looked before vpon the Face of the Gouernment, I thought (as euerie man would haue done) that the people were neuer ſo happie as in my time: For euen as at diuerſe times I haue looked vpon diuerſe of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outſide verie thicke, and well growne vnto me; but when I entred into the midſt of them I found them all bitten within, and full of plaines and bare ſpots (like an Apple or Peare, faire and ſmooth without, but when ye claue it aſunder, ye find it rotten at the heart) euen ſo this Kingdome, the externall gouernmens being as good as euer it was, and I am ſure as learned Iudges as euer it had (and I hope as honeſt) adminiſtring Iuſtice within it: And for Peace both at home and abroad, I may truly ſay more ſetled, and longer laſting then euer any before; together with as great Plentie as euer: ſo as it was to be thought, that euerie man might ſit in ſafetie vnder his owne Vine, and vnder his own Fig-tree: Yet I am aſhamed, and it makes my haire ſtand vpright to conſider, how in this time, my people haue beene vexed and polled by the vile execution of Proiects, Patents, and Bils of Conformitie, and ſuch like; which beſides the trouble of my people, haue more exhauſted their Purſes, then Subſidies would haue done.*

Obſerue this well, and you ſhall ſee no man can ſay more then his Maieſtie hath done, to ſet forth the miſerie of a State, which ſeemeth to flourish like a greene Bay-tree. His Maieſtie *ſaw the Face*, he did not ſee the Body; but thought the body in as good plight as the face; as any man in deed would haue done. He thought *the people neuer ſo happie as in his time*; and great reaſon he had ſo to thinke: but now he ſees it otherwiſe; and muſt needs

griеue,

griene, becauſe it is ſo. The Common-wealth *was as his Coppices flouriſhing & thicke without, within not ſuitable.* You know where the fault lyes: The *Woodreeues, Surueyers, Rangers*, and other *Officers*, that should preſerue it, are thoſe that ſpoile for themſelues, by a mutuall conniuencie, and generall conſpiracie: and ſo it is in the *State*, it ſeemes a faire Apple, but it is rotten at the heart. The *externall gouernment was neuer better, the Iudges neuer more learned:* Where then is the fault? His Maieſtie reſolues you: priuate *Projects*, and *Monopolies* rob the Common-wealth, diſturbe Order, fruſtrate Lawes, diſcourage Indeuour, ſpoile all. Firſt, Needie perſons hauing waſted and run out their owne eſtates in all wild and wicked courſes, then inuent meanes how to worke out a liuing from the induſtry of other men. Theſe run to perſons in fauour at Court, and they begge the penalties of Lawes, and to prouide, that whilſt they keepe no Lawes themſelues, they will not ſuffer any to be kept. *To know this*, his Maieſtie ſaith, *He is aſhamed, it makes his haire ſtand vpright*, as at the ſight of euill Spirits: and yet theſe Diuels doe it without blushing, nay, with boldneſſe they command it to be done, and with rigour exact a penaltie of ſuch as doe omit it: dealing here for the King with his Loyall people, as Perſecutors doe with the Saints and Seruants of God, whom they ſpoile, torture, and put to death, ſuppoſing therein they doe God good ſeruice: Or as if all men were borne to labour that they might liue idely, and waſt their bodies in ryot and licentiouſneſſe, their eſtates in pride, drunkenneſſe, and prodigalitie, and the whole Common-wealth by their diſordered liues and diſſolute examples.

Thus farre that faire-promiſſing Parliament diſcouered, and proceeded in a plauſible and profitable courſe of reformation,

formation; but here our hopes on a ſodaine were ouercaſt with a Cloud, and our calme day became ſtormie. For his Maieſtie, hauing in the beginning of that Parliament receiued the greateſt teſtimonie of Loue and Loyaltie from the Subiect, that euer Prince had of his People, and giuing ſuch publique and plauſible teſtimonie thereof to the honour, praiſe, and incouragement of his people, as neuer Prince did before him; and the courſe of this Current running ſmooth a long time, without ſuſpition of the leaſt mutation, at laſt ſomething was vnhappely or vnſeaſonably touched vpon which was tender, and being handled with too rough a hand for ſo ſore and ſenſible a part to ſuffer and endure, gaue occaſion to euill Inſtruments, then trembling vnder the Rod of ſeuere reformation, to take and follow the aduantage offered, ſo home to the head, as thereby the Parliament was ſodainly and abruptly broken vp, with the ruine of all our hopes.

Then we had time enough to ſee how much more eaſie it was *for a few*, who had the Kings *eare*, to hinder, then *for many*, though they had the Kings *heart*, to helpe; and we began to obſerue, *it was not good ſeeing of all faults at once*; leſt, making the *Offendors* more & ſtronger then the *Reformers*, faction ſhould combine and vnite the guiltie, and giue them courage, out of deſpaire of pardon, to breake with violence, through all the Copweb toiles, that were ſet to enſnare them. Here began our calamitie, and lycentiouſneſſe breaking looſe, raged the more for former reſtraints; as we ſee a Bow ſtarts right forth and flyes out of the hand of him that ſhoots, when ouerbent, and ouerdrawne, it breakes the hard-twiſted ſtring aſunder. Vnequall conditions of grace, which carie the countenance of conſtraint, are deliuered with frownes, and hold no longer

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then that obedience from the Subiect which is perſwaded by penaltie, and exacted by tyrannie. For *Nullum violentum perpetuum*; the Superiour and Inferiour alſo, muſt worke freely, if faithfully.

Our euils grew great and ſweld higher and higher euerie tyde; as waue followes waue, ſo woe followed woe one vpon the necke of another, euen ſo farre, and in ſuch extreames, as nothing of *Alexanders* portion (*Hope*) was left vs. The particulars, What, and circumſtances, How, being pointed at in my former Treatiſe, are not ſo pleaſant, as that they require or admit repetition: Nay rather, *Quis temperet a lachrymis*, who can abſtaine from teares that remembers them? I haſten therefore forward, to a more comfortable and acceptable report, being glad at the heart, that in ſuch a ſtorme, I deſcry Land ſo neere me. For here, whilſt our Ship toſt aloft, as high as the Cloudes, ſaw nothing but Rockes of ruine to light on, and we poore Paſſengers expected death, and in death what Fish would ſwallow vs & vouchſafe to be our Graue, Tombe, and the Monument of our Miſerie, behold a calme, and the ſweet ſound of that Trumpet, which bad our hopes, and a new Parliament, ariſe together from the dead. This day ſeemed then a shadow of the *Laſt*, when the Arch-Angell and Trumpe shall proclame a generall Reſurrection, and ſummon the guiltie to appeare at the Barre of Iuſtice, reuiuing the faithfull, to lift vp their heads towards Glorie.

Accordingly the Parliament began, *Februarie* the 19, *1623 Stilo Anglicano*: Where his Maieſtie, by a moſt gratious Speech, reconciled himſelfe to his people, as a louing Huſband to his too-iealous Wife. He acknowledged the proper vſe and extent of a Parliament, in theſe or

the like golden Words, which before he ſeemed to haue abridged almoſt to nothing, as a body not only long ſince dead, but now alſo turned to Duſt, Earth, and Ashes. See the difference betwixt power incenſed, and appeaſed.

The proper vſe of a Parliament (ſaith his moſt excellent Maieſtie) *is according to the Writ, Nobiſcum ſuper arduis negotijs tractare, & conſilium veſtrum impendere. To conferre with the King as Gouernor of the Kingdome, and to giue their aduice in matters of greateſt importance, concerning the King and the State, and defence of the King, Kingdome and Church.*

Accordingly his Maieſtie declared, how much he had beene wronged and deluded, by dallying Treaties; when all his true-hearted Subiects ſaw he would, prayed he might, and prayſed God he was ſo profitably abuſed. He profeſſeth to awake as a man out of a ſweet dreame, whoſe *wants are doubled by the deluſion.* He deſired their councell & aſſiſtance, promiſing to be ruled by them, and to doe no weightie buſineſſe without them; he intreated (who might command) their ſpeed, ſince delaies were dangerous, and the ſpinning out of time vnprofitable; his deare-bought experience had taught him that Leſſon. To truſt any longer vpon promiſes & hopes, he intended not, but caſt himſelfe wholly vpon God and his people.

Ef. 25.

Is not this wonderfull? Doe not theſe words, if we had them, and could ſo ſet them downe as they were deliuered, deſerue to be lodged in euerie Subiects heart? Nay doth not this manifeſt the truth of that which *Salomon* ſaith, that *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord as the Riuers of Water; he turneth it whithersoeuer he will?* Before this change none could moue him, all humane applications were as if men ſet their ſhoulders to a Rock: Nay

Prov. 21. 1

Nay all endeuour this way, procured more violent and resolute oppoſition: But now his heart is moued by God, it moues him, and he moues them, who would but could not moue him before, wils them to make haſt, and to be ſwift in their motion, thereby to make amends for former delaies. This shewes the King is the ſame to the body Politique, that the heart is to the body Naturall, the Seate and Fountaine of Motion, and ſo of Action.

The Parliament conſult, and reſolue with all ſpeed, that both the Treaties with *Spaine*, concerning *the Prince his mariage with the Infanta Maria*, and the *reſtitution of the Palatinate*, should be broken off preſently; and this they giue in humbly for their heartie reſolution. The King congratulates their ſpeedie and happie Councell, in a Speech made the eighth of *March*, in words to this purpoſe:

My Lords and Gentlemen all I haue cauſe firſt to thanke God with my heart and all the faculties of my minde, that my Speech which I deliuered in Parliament, hath taken ſo good effect amongſt you, as that with an vnamine conſent, you haue freely and ſpeedily giuen me your aduice in this great buſineſſe for which I alſo thanke you all as heartily as I can, &c. And ſo proceeding to propound ſome difficulties, which, like a wiſe Prince, he deſired might be conſidered, cleered, and remoued by their councell, he concluds thus, *Your kind cariage giues me much contentment and that comforts me, which my Lord of Canterburie ſaid,* That there was not a contrarie voyce amongſt you all; *Like the Seuentie Interpreters who were led by the breath of God. I am ſo deſirous to forget all rents in former Parliaments, that it ſhall not be in my default if I be not in loue with Parliaments, and call them often, and deſire to end*

my life in that entercourſe betweene me and my people, for the making of good Lawes, reforming of ſuch abuſes as I cannot well be informed of but in Parliament, and in maintaining the good Gouernment of the Common-wealth. Therefore goe on cheerefully and aduiſe of theſe points, and my reſolution ſhall then be declared.

Now the chiefe of thoſe points whereof his Maieſtie would haue them aduiſe, was matter of mony, the ſumme and the meanes to raiſe it; which is the Sinew, yea the verie Soule of Warre, and muſt be prouided for before any worke could be vndertaken.

And becauſe there was ſomething in this Speech of his Maieſties miſtaſted (perhaps by miſtaking) his Maieſtie was gratiouſly pleaſed to expound and explane himſelfe more cleerly & fully by Letter, the ſeuenteenth of *March*, wherein he ſhewes:

That he was reſolued both in Conſcience and Honour to make an inſtant warre.

That he did deſire to conferre with the Houſe for the manner of the Warre, Places, and Perſons.

That he did refuſe to demand any preſent Subſidie for his debts, but deſired that his former demands of one Subſidie and two Fifteenes might be added to the great buſineſſe of the Warre.

Hereupon as a glad Eccho to ſuch a gratious and muſicall explanation, the whole Houſe of Commons reſound this harmonious cloſe and conſent.

Moſt gracious Soueraigne, We your moſt humble and loyall Subiects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, doe firſt render vnto your Sacred Maieſtie our moſt dutifull thankes, for that (to our vnſpeakeable comfort) you haue vouchſafed to expreſſe your ſelfe ſo well ſatisfied

ſatisfied with our late declaration, made to your Maieſtie of our generall reſolution, in purſuit of our humble aduiſe, to aſſiſt your Maieſtie in a Parliamentarie way, with our perſons and abilities. And whereas your Maieſtie, in your great wiſedome and iudgement foreſeeing that it would make a deeper impreſſion both in the Enemies of that cauſe, and in your Friends and Allies, if they ſhould not only heare of the cheerefull offers, but alſo ſee the reall performance of your Subiects towards ſo great a worke, your Maieſtie was pleaſed to deſcend to a particular propoſition, for the aduancement of this great buſineſſe. We in all humbleneſſe moſt really willing to giue your Maieſtie and the whole World an ample teſtimonie of our ſincere and dutifull intentions herein, haue vpon mature aduice and deliberation as well of the weight and importance of this great affaire, as of the preſent eſtate of this your Kingdome, the weale and ſafetie whereof, is in our iudgements apparantly threatned, if your Maieſties reſolution for diſſoluing of the Treaties now in queſtion be longer deferred, and that prouiſion for defence of the Realme, and of your Friends and Allies be not ſeaſonably made, haue with a cheerefull conſent of all your Commons (no one diſſenting) and with a full and cheerefull conſent of all the Lords reſolued, that vpon your Maieſties publique declaration for the vtter diſſolution and diſcharge of the two Treaties, *of the* Mariage, *and the* Palatinate, *in purſuit of our aduice therein, and towards the ſupport of the warre which is like to enſue, and more particularly for thoſe Foure points propoſed by your Maieſtie, namely*, The defence of this Realm; ſecuring of Ireland; the aſſiſtance of your Neighbours the States of the Vnited Prouinces, and other your Friends and Allies; and for the ſetting forth of your Royall Nauy;

We will grant for the preſent the greateſt ayd that euer was granted in Parliament, to be leuied in ſo ſhort a time: that is, Three entier Subſidies, and three Fifteenes, to be all paid within the compaſſe of one whole yeere, after your Maieſtie ſhall be pleaſed to make the ſaid declaration; the Money to be paid into the hands & expended by the direction, of ſuch Committees, & Commiſsioners, as hereafter ſhall be agreed in this preſent Seſsion of Parliament.

And we moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, graciouſly to accept of this firſt Fruits of our heartie Oblation, dedicated to that worke, which we in ſinceritie deſire may proſper and be aduanced: And for the future to reſt confidently aſſured, that if you ſhall be ingaged in a reall warre, We your loyall and louing Subiects will neuer faile to aſsiſt your Maieſtie in a Parliamentarie way in ſo Royall a deſigne, wherein your owne honour, and the honour of your moſt noble Sonne the Prince, the ancient renoumne of this Nation, the well-fare and verie ſubſiſtance of your noble and onely Daughter, and her Conſort, and their Poſteritie, the ſafetie of your owne Kingdomes and People, and the proſperitie of your Neighbours and Allies, are ſo deepely engaged.

Now their readie conſent, shewed their Vnitie; their bountie, shewed their good affection to the cauſe; and their prouiſion and caution, to giue it by a Parliamentarie way, shewed their wiſedome; who, by looking backward and ſeeing how all things are drawne into Preſident, and how power lets not goe what it gets howſoeuer it be giuen, did, for the good of the Ages to come, prouide there should not be a new forme of rayſing Moneys, inuented and added to thoſe that are alreadie ſetled and in practiſe. But as they were readie to part with all to his Maieſtie for the

the good of his Perſon and Poſteritie, to be expended in defence of the Church and State; ſo they would giue it by a Parliamentarie way, that the guift might be knowne to be theirs, and to be giuen freely, vpon good and mature aduiſe and deliberation. Which his Maieſtie well obſeruing and approuing, knowing he dealt with a people well managed to his hand, free, faithfull, and withall intelligent of all grace that was done them, cloſe and reſerued where they ſaw any conueiance in the Clouds, and open-hearted and open-handed, where they beheld open dealing; He makes a free and publique declaration of his Royall reſolution, the 23 of *March*, whereof before he ſeemed, to ſome of his plain-meaning and plain-dealing Subiects, a little too reſerued, who could not looke ſo farre as he himſelfe did, into thoſe reſpects of State which moued him to it.

In this Speech, after he had repeated ſomethings in a former Diſcourſe of his, and shewed his Reaſons why he propounded the difficulties there mentioned, not to diſcourage his People, or incourage the Enemie, by pleading his cauſe, and alledging aduantages for him, and diſaduantages for vs; to animate his pride and oppreſſion, by repreſenting his ſtrength; and deterre vs, by a reflection of our weakeneſſe: but, like a wiſe Prince, caſting and foreſeeing the worſt, and deſiring to be armed both with Money and meanes ſufficient, and with men reſolued to ouercome all theſe difficulties, though the worſt ſhould fall out that could be obiected or ſuſpected, he proceedes to giue them thankes for their generall offer, in which they did engage themſelues, their liues, & eſtates, to ſecond his reſolutions for warre, which he gratiouſly acknowledged to be more then fortie Subſidies, and more worth then a Kingdome:

For (quoth he) *the ſtrength of a King ſtands* (*next vnder the protection of God*) *in the hearts of his People. And I muſt needs ſay in this particular, it is without example that euer any Parliament for a beginning gaue a King ſo great a ſupply, in ſo ſhort a time to be leuied. This may well ſerue for a preparation. And for my part, firſt conſidering your generall offer, which is ten times more to me then all Subſidies; and next, conſidering that all theſe particulars comming from you, be as much as the people are able to pay in ſo ſhort a time, being within a yeere, and as much as may be well expended; Therefore with as much loue, and as great thankes as a louing and kind King can giue to ſo louing and dutifull a people, I thanke you for your offer, and doe accept it. I tould you before that I would neuer haue craued your aduice to reiect it, and ſo put a ſcorne vpon you; thinke me not that man. It is true that I thinke no wiſe King can vndertake ſo great a bargain, but he muſt well bethinke himſelfe beforehand; and I hold better that a King aduiſe well before he take a reſolution, then aduiſe raſhly, and after repent it. Therefore my Lords and Gentlemen, I declare vnto you, as I am willing to follow your aduice in the anulling and breach of theſe two Treaties, both for the Match and the Palatinate, ſo on the other part, I aſſure my ſelfe you will make good what you haue ſaid, that in what you aduiſe me to, you will aſſiſt me with your wiſedome, and councell, and Forces, if need be. I pray you haue a charitable opinion of me, as you are to haue of a King who hath ſo long ruled and gouerned you (and I may well vaunt my ſelfe with Iuſtice and Peace) that as I tould you before all my forbearance hath beene for the ſparing of the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and as the moſt eaſie and probable way for recouering the Palatinate for my Children, which now*

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it is high time I take in hand and performe. I haue beene so long delayed and paid with generals, that I dare not trust longer vnto them; which made me enioine Buckingham to make a particular relation to you of all that businesse (and I am sure that such an account was neuer before giuen in Parliament) that thereby you may know what to trust vnto. I could in this case, haue resolued my selfe, but I thought it could not be but a strength and honour both to me, to haue the aduise of my people.

My Lords in the latter Parliament I then declared vnto you that I was resolued without respect of Friendship, or Match, or whatsoeuer, to haue the Palatinate one way or other; and I hope you all remember it. God is my Iudge and Sauiour, I neuer had other end and it is pittie I should euer liue to haue other end: and for my part, except, by such meanes as God may put into my hand I may recouer the Palatinate, I could wish neuer to haue beene borne. I am old, but my onely Sonne is young; and I will promise for my selfe and him both, that no meanes shall be vnused for the recouerie of it. And this I dare say, as old as I am, if it might do good for the businesse I would goe in mine owne person, and thinke my trauell and paines well bestowed, though I should end my dayes there. For if I should spare any meanes for the recouerie of it, then let me not be thought worthy to raigne ouer you. And in good faith, I neuer resolued to liue with other mind; nay, I will say more, there was neuer any Enemie of my Son-in-lawes, with whom I talked of that businesse, or any other that I euer spake with on that side, which did not say and confesse that I had reason to haue the Palatinate, one way or othrr. And when they say so, it is a good reason that they themselues allow; and it was a good spur to me to thinke vpon it.

My Lords & Gentlemen all, thus far assure your selues, that I will goe cheerefully about to prepare all things possible for it. And as you haue giuen the meanes so I will employ them towards it. And in the next degree I hope you will thinke on me. But this I leaue to your own counsels & considerations: but I protest to God a pennie of this money shall not be bestowed but on this worke & by your own Committees; and I assure my selfe you will thinke on me for a double reason; my customes are like to fall by occasion of the warre, yet I must goe through with it one way or other, though I sell Iewels and all. In the next Session you will consider how this hath beene husbanded, and according to it, thinke what is next to be done, and how far, and it will stir you the more to enable me for the rest.

And here I will cleere you in some things, concerning doubts arising from my last speech because I will not deale in any thing with you but freely & cleerly as a King; and seeing I haue broken the neckes of diuerse Parliaments together, I hope to deserue so well of you, and you of me, that this shall be a happy Parliament, and make me greater and happier then any King of England euer was.

In my last speech I promised, if I did accept your offer, I would follow your aduice, & would not after hearken to any Treatie of peace, but would acquaint you with it, & require your aduice. And I likewise promised nothing should be spent of those moneys, but by your owne Committees. But I desire you to vnderstand I must haue a faithfull and secret Councell of warre, that must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designes might be discouered beforehand: a penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in the sight of your Committees; but whether I shall send 2000 or 10000, whether by Sea or by Land, North or South, by diuersion or otherwayes

otherwaies by inuasion vpon the Bauarian or the Emperor, or elsewhere, you must leaue that to the king. Assure your selues my delay hitherto was in hope to haue gotten it without a warre. I held it by a haire hoping to recouer it by entreatie; but since I see it cannot be had that way, I hope that God that hath put it into your hearts thus to aduise me, and into my heart to follow your aduice, will so blesse it, that I shall cleere my reputation from Obloquj, & in despite of the Deuil, shew that I neuer had but an honest heart. And I desire that God would blesse our Labours for happie restitution of my Children. And whosoeuer did the wrong, I deserued better at their hand.

The next businesse they fell vpon, was for repressing the increase and insolencie of Papists within this Land: For doubtlesse they saw, that from this roor, much of that mischiefe, which had befalne the Kings Children, first sprung, and was since continued. And what they and Religion in them had suffered abroad, from these and those of their Faction, would follow necessarily vpon themselues, and the Church at home, by this meanes, except their wisedomes did speedily preuent it. Neither did they post-pone Religion, as if the former point handled and concluded, had beene meerely a ciuill businesse: But they prefer'd that first, both in respect it concerned the Kings Children, and was the ground of all the rest, as also because it was a mixed cause inuolued with Religion, and concerned the whole Commonwealth of Christendome deepely and directly; being therefore to be prefer'd, as the whole before a part. Now then in the second place, they descend to matter of Religion and State at home: For so the Popes intrusion and the Iesuites policie haue mixed or rather confounded them, as they cannot be distinguisht

really and actually, though vocally and verbally they may. Shortly after therefore the Houſe gaue vp this Petition following to his Maieſtie.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſtie, we your Maieſties humble & loyall Subiects the Commons of this preſent parliament aſſembled, hauing to our ſingular comfort receiued your Princely reſolution vpon our humble Petition to diſſolue the two Treaties of the Match & the Palatinat, & hauing on our parts with all alacritie & readineſſe humbly offered our aſſiſtance to your Maieſtie, to maintain the war which may enſue thereupon; yet withal ſenſibly finding what ſeditious & traiterous poſitions thoſe Incendiaries of Rome and profeſſed Ingineers of Spaine, the Prieſts & Ieſuites, infuſe into your naturall borne ſubiects; What numbers they haue ſeduced, & doe daily labor to make, their dependance on the Pope of Rome, and King of Spaine, contrarie to their allegeance to your Maieſtie their leige Lord; what daily reſort of Prieſts and Ieſuites into this your Kingdome; What concourſe of Popiſh Recuſants (more then vſuall) are now in & about the Citie of London; what boldneſſe & inſolence they haue diſcouered, out of the opinion conceiued of the forain patronage; what publike reſort to maſſe, & other exerciſes of the Romane religion, in the houſes of Foraine Ambaſſadors there is daily, to the offence of your good Subiects; What preparations are made in Spaine fit for an Inuaſion, the bent whereof is as probable to be vpon ſome part of your Maieſties Kingdomes, as vpon any other place; what encouragement it may be to our enemies and the enemies of your crown, to haue a partie, or but the opinion of a partie within your own Kingdomes, who daily encreaſe & combine themſelues together for that purpoſe; what diſheartning to your good and louing Subiects, when they ſhall ſee more cauſe of feare from their falſe-hearted Countrimen at home, then

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their professed enemies abroad; What apparant dangers by Gods prouidence and your Maiesties wisedome & goodnesse, they haue verie lately escaped, with the no longer continuance of those Treaties vpon such vnfit conditions, by your ill-affected Subiects drawne vpon your Maiestie and vpon your Estate; they in all humblenesse offer vnto your most sacred Maiestie these humble peticions following.

First, that all Iesuites & Seminarie Priests, & all others, hauing taken orders by any authoritie derined from the Sea of Rome, by your Maiesties proclamation, be forthwith commanded out of this Realme, & all others your Maiesties Dominions, and neither they nor any other to returne or come hether again vpon pain of the seuerest penalties of the lawes now in force against them; and that all your Maiesties subiects may thereby also be admonished, not to receiue, entertaine, comfort, or relieue any of that viperous brood, vpon the penaltie and forfeiture which by the Lawes may be imposed vpon them.

Secondly, That your Maiestie would be pleased to giue strength and speedie charge to the Iustices of Peace in all the parts of this Kingdome, that according to lawes in that behalfe made, and the Orders taken by your Maiesties Priuie Councell heretofore for policie of State, they do take from all papists, recusants legaly conuicted or iustly suspected, al such armor, gunpowder & munition of any kind, as they or any of them haue either in their own hands, or in the hands of any other for them; & to see the same safly kept & disposed of according to the law, leauing them for the necessary defence of their houses & persons, so much as is by the law prescribed.

Thirdly, That your Maiestie will please to command all Popish Recusants, and all others who by any Law or Statute are forbidden to come to the Kings Court, forthwith vpon

paine of your Maiesties heauie displeasure, and the seuere execution of the Lawes against them, to retire themselues, their Wiues and Families from about London to their seuerall dwellings or places by your Lawes appointed, there to remaine and to be confined within fiue miles, according to the Lawes of this your Realme; and for that purpose to discharge all the Post-licences granted vnto them for their repaire hither; and that they presume not hereafter to repaire to London, or within ten miles of London, or to the King or Princes Court wheresoeuer.

Fourthly, That your Maiestie would forbid and restraine the great resort and concourse of your owne Subiects for the hearing of Masse, and for other exercises of the Romane Religion, to the Houses of Foraine Ambassadors or Agents residing here for the seruice of their seuerall Princes or States.

Fifthly, That whereas of late in seuerall Counties of this Realme, some haue beene trusted in the place of Lord Lieutenants, of Deputie Lieutenants, Commissioners of Oyre and Terminer, Iustices of Peace, and Captaines in their Countreys, which are either Popish Recusants, or Non-communicants, by the space of a yeere now past, or doe not vsually resort to the Church to heare Diuine Seruice, nor can bring good certificat hereof, that your Maiestie will be pleased to discharge them of their Places of trust, by which they haue power in the Countrey where they liue, which is not fit to put into the hands of persons so affected.

Sixthly, That your Maiestie would be pleased generally to put in execution all the Lawes made against Recusants, and that all Iudges, Iustices, and other Ministers of Iustice, to whose care all these things are committed, may be commanded to doe their dutie therein.

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly Seeing we are thus happily deliuered from the dangers which those Treaties now dissolued, and that vse which your ill-affected Subiects made thereof, would certainly haue drawne vpon vs, and cannot but of force feare lest the like may hereafter happen, which will bring much perill to your Maiesties Kingdomes: We are most humble Suitors to your Maiestie to secure the hearts of your Subiects by the ingagement of your Royall Word vnto them, that vpon no occasion of Mariage, or Treatie, or other request in that behalfe from any Foraine Prince or State whosoeuer, you will take away or slacken the execution of your Lawes against the Popish Recusants; to which their humble Petitions proceeding from their most loyall and dutiful affections towards your Maiestie, the care of their Countreys good, and their confident assurance that they will much aduance the Glorie of Almightie God, and the euerlasting honour of your Maiestie.

They humbly beseech your Maiestie to vouchsafe your Maiesties answer.

Accordingly his Maiestie returnes this gratious answer to their petition, the 23 of *April* following, in these or the like words.

My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses, although I cannot but commend your Zeale in offering this Petition vnto me, yet on the other side I cannot but hold my selfe vnfortunate, that I should be thought to need a spur to doe that, which my conscience & dutie bindes me to. What Religion I am of, my Bookes declare, my profession and behauiour doe shew. I hope in God I shall neuer liue to be thought otherwise, surely I shall neuer deserue it. And for my part, I wish that

VVhether or no euerie Religion increase by persecution, is a question. It is true that *Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ*: but his Maiesty must not be vnderstood as if he thought the Martyrs of *Rome* (such as *Garnet* & *Faux* were & the rest are) to be true Martyrs, and

it might be written in Marble, and remain to posteritie as a marke vpon me, when I should swarue from my religion. For he that doth dissemble with God is not to be trusted of men.

My Lords, for my part, I protest before God, my heart hath bled when as I haue heard of the encrease of Poperie: and I take God to be my Iudge, that it hath beene such a great griefe vnto me, that it hath beene as thornes in my eyes, and pricks in my sides so far haue I euer beene and shall be from turning another way.

And my Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall be my Confessors, that one way or other it hath beene my desire to hinder the growth of Poperie: and I could not be an honest man if I should haue done otherwise; And this I may say farther, that if I be not a Martyr, I am sure I am a Confessor: and in some sense, I may be called a Martyr also, As in the Scripture Isaack *was persecuted by* Ismaell *by mocking words. For neuer King suffered more by euill tongues, then I haue done, and that I am sure for no other cause, and yet I haue bin far from persecution. For I haue euer thought, that no way more increaseth any religion then persecution, according to the saying,* Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.

that the blood of such is the seed of the Church; It may be the seed of Satans Sinogogue, & of Antichrists Empire, but not of the true Church of Christ. The true Religion thriues indeed by persecution, because it is of God: this was seene by vs in the daies of Queene MARY, and in France by the Massacre, and in Germanie by old and late cruelties vsed against the reformed Catholikes: but the Church of Rome is not the true Church; for it doth not thriue by persecution, but by persecuting others. The Inquisition vpholds it in all places where it stands vpright; and that it doth not thriue by persecution, but by the contrarie, the reigne of Queene ELIZABETH, and of his Maiestie, doth manifest.

Queene ELIZABETH was persecuted by them, & did persecute, or rather prosecute Iustice against them; whereby they decreased both at home & abroad. Our present Soueraigne, as his Maiestie confesseth, and as we haue seene with sorrow, hath beene and is persecuted by them in his Person, Profession, and Posteritie, but he hath not persecuted them, nor prosecuted the Law against them, but rather the contrarie; whereby they encrease at home & abroad; and now, Exitus acta probat. The effect shewes the cause.

Now

Now my Lords and Gentlemen for your Petition, I will not onely grant the substance of what you craued, but adde something more of mine owne. For the two Treaties being alreadie annulled, as I haue declared them to be, that necessarily followeth of it selfe which you desire. And therefore it needeth no more but that I doe declare by Proclamation (which I am readie to doe) that the Iesuites and Priests doe depart by a day: but it cannot be as you desire by one Proclamation to be out of all my Dominions. For a Proclamation here, extends but to this Kingdome. This I will doe, and more, I will command all my Iudges when they goe their Circuits, to keepe the same course for putting all the Lawes against Recusants in execution, which they were wont to do before these Treaties. For the Lawes be still in force, and were neuer dispenced with by me, and God is my Iudge, they were neuer intended so to be dispenced with by me. But as I tould you in the beginning of the Parliament, you must giue me leaue as a good Horse-man, sometimes to vse the Raines, and not alwaies to vse the spur. So now there needs nothing but my declaration. And for the disarming of them, it is alreadie done by the Lawes, and it shall be done as you desire it, and more.

I will take order for preuenting that shamefull disorder of the resorting of mine owne Subiects to all Foraine Ambassadours. And of these I will aduise with my Councell, how they may be best reformed. It is true that the Houses of Ambassadors are priuiledged places; and though they cannot take them out from their Houses, yet the Lord Maior, and M. Recorder of London, may take them as they come from thence, and make some of them examples.

An other point I will adde concerning the education of their Children, of which I haue had a principall care, as my

Lord of Canterburie, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other Lords of my Councell, and indeed all my Councell can beare me witneſſe, with whom I haue aduiſed concerning this buſineſſe. For in good faith, it is a ſhame that their Children ſhould be ſo bred here, as if they were bred vp in Madrid, and at Rome. So I doe grant not only your deſire, but more.

I am ſorrie that I was not the firſt mouer of it vnto you; but if that you had not moued this to me, yet I would haue done it of my ſelfe. Now for the laſt part of your Petition, you haue herein giuen me the beſt aduice in the world. For it is againſt the rule of wiſedome, that a King ſhould ſuffer any of his Subiects to be beholding and to depend vpon any other then himſelfe; And what hath any King to doe with the Lawes and Subiects of another Kingdome?

And therefore aſſure your ſelues, that by the grace of God, I will be carefull that no ſuch conditions be foiſted in vpon any other Treatie whatſoeuer. For it is fit that my Subiects ſhould ſtand or fall to their owne Lord.

This great buſineſſe of Religion, which is the foundation of all, being thus ſetled according to the votes of Parliament, and his Maieſties vowes and promiſes, and all men ſecured from marying any foraine Religion vnder the couerture of fraudulent conditions, foiſted in, as his Maieſtie ſaith, vpon a new Treatie. They then proceed to enquire into the rents & ruptures of the Common-wealth. And as in the Parliament before, they reformed the Court of Conſcience, and cenſured the Lord Chancellor, as hath beene related; So now they looke into the Exchequer, the Court of Treaſure, and there their eyes were faſtned vpon the ſupremeſt Officer, the Lord Treaſurer, whoſe ſpeedie grouth, from a mediocritie to that heighth and greatneſſe,

greatneſſe, both of place and emploiment, gaue him no time to make vſe of former Preſidents and examples, to teach him to beware; ſo that he fell before he could well aſſure himſelfe that he was vp. An Artificer that hath beene vſed from Childhood to climbe euerie day, and trained by degrees to acquaint himſelfe with diſtances of altitude, can, without giddineſs, keepe ſure footing, though the Stages be neuer ſo high: It is not ſo with the vnexperienced, though their braines be neuer ſo ſtrong and ſteddie, if they, being hoodwinked, be mounted aloft, not ſeeing the wayes they came vp, and ſo vnacquainted with the ſteps and degrees, it is odds but they fall when their Bumble is taken from them. This was his fortune; his fault was that common errour of great Officers, who thinke they can be good Seruants to the King, though they be iniurious to the Kingdome; yea, that they are the better to the one, the worſe they are to the other; when aſſuredly, they muſt be good to both, or to neither. That Improuement is a benefit to both, which is brought in to the Land, and added to the common Treaſure and Stocke of the State, in Bullion or any other neceſſarie ſupply, or inuented here to better our homebred Commoditie, and thereby to draw in treaſure from without: but that which is gotten thorough incrochings made by either of theſe vpon the other, is as if the Father should rob the Child, the Child the Father; the Huſband should rob the Wife, the Wife the Huſband; or as if the Burgers in a Towne beſieged, should ſally vpon their owne Souldiers in the Out-workes, or the Souldiers ſet to defend a place, should reuert vpon their owne entertainers. They which take from the lawfull libertie of the Subiect, to eeke out the Prerogatiue, weaken the Soueraigne power, which conſiſteth

siſteth in the Peoples loue, and makes the life of it more troubleſome, painfull, ſubiect to diſeaſes, and of no certain continuance: they againe who pull the proper and naturall Feathers from the Princely Prerogatiue, to enlarge the Peoples libertie, doe thereby open a dore to all manner of euill, which (together with licentiouſneſſe and diſobedience) doe rush into the Common-wealth, and doe alſo make that great bodie of Soueraignetie vnproportionable, vncomely, and not glorious enough; yea, altogether vnſeruiceable to moue it ſelfe, either for the reſtraint of vice, the encouragement of Vertue, the execution of Lawes, or the vniting of Inward power againſt Foraine Force and Inuaſion; which are the ends of Royall inſtitution.

A Parliament therefore, where Prince and People meet and ioyne in conſultation, is fit only for that weihgtie and important worke, in whoſe euen ballancing, the weale of a State doth conſiſt. And without this Councel, the greateſt Peere or Officer, yea, the greateſt profeſt Enginere in State ſtratagems, may eaſily erre vpon either hand, many degrees from good gouernment, and ſo fall into an Anarchy or Tyrannie. And this large Point, was loſt in his too narrow Compaſſe; and no wonder, for neuer any ſingle man, no not *Salomon* himſelfe, could find it.

Yet his Maieſtie would not take him from the cenſure of his Peeres and People (as vniuſt Princes would haue done, who hauing need of bad Inſtruments, muſt therefore vphold them, and not ſuffer them to be made examples of Iuſtice, leſt they ſhould deterre others from the like employments, and ſo when they haue wills to be wicked, and to doe wrong, want meanes to effect it) but as a louing Maſter, to shew himſelfe worthy of a better Seruant, he pleads for mercie where he might command it, yet will

not

not denie it to all, to giue it to one, but when all is done, refers him to the vnsuspected equitie of that Court, willing that he should suffer, though neuer so great, though neuer so beloued, rather then the whole State.

And in this Act, he taught all Officers, euen from the Porters Lodge to the Bed Chamber, to see that they haue no protection for wrong from his power, and that there is no sure standing aloft, but by personall innocencie and integritie.

The Conclusion of the Parliament was answerable to these happy proceedings, where those Lawes made against *Blasphemie* and *Drunkennesse* doe sanctifie and season the rest, assuring vs, that though our sinnes be great and generall, yea, such as deserue the punishment of Sodome: yet God hath not altogether left vs, but these are witnesses of his presence, as the Cloudie and Fierie Pillars to the Hoast of *Israel*; We shall not be blowne vp till these be blotted out, nor dare the *Amalekites* venter to assault our Coasts, as long as these two Hands of *Moses*, be held vp ouer vs, in praier and practise. O that we might haue been so happie to cry out also concerning the Sabaoth with *Nehemiah*, *Remember vs (O our God) concerning this also, and spare vs according to the greatnesse of thy mercie.* Exod. 17. Neh. 13. 22.

Thus I haue shewed from the Petitions of the Parliament, and his Maiesties gratious acknowledgment, that what I wrot in that little Pamphlet called *Vox Populi*, was as farre short in effect of what his Maiestie now knowes to be true, as the shadow is of the substance it vshereth, or the Paper stopper is of the Shot which followeth. That which I did, was to the end that his Maiestie might haue knowne thus much before; which if he had, I know he would then haue giuen a speedie remedie as well as now.

And now in doing this, I hope I haue not shewne any disloyaltie to his Maiestie, nor done iniurie to any true and loyall Seruant or Subiect of his: except (as the Apostle
2 Cor. 12 15. saith) in this, *That I haue not beene slouthfull to your hinderance:* forgiue me this wrong. Nor doe I repent me of this; for (as the same Apostle there saith) *I will most gladly bestow, and will be bestowed for your Soules; though the more I loue you, the lesse I am loued.*

Yet it must needs greeue me to see the Popish Priests and Iesuites, whom the Law calls Traytors, walke freely in the Streets, and presse into the Court, and to his Maiesties presence, when such as oppose these, and shew their dangerous intrusions, are for this, in danger and disgrace, shut vp, or shut out, from enioying the benefit of subiects, consisting chiefly in his Maiesties protection and fauour. Nay when these, after a solemne and publike Proclamation procured by Petition of Parliament, where the Head and Bodie ioyned, and commanded their departure vnder capitall penalties, dare notwithstanding stay and tempt the Magistrate to do his worst, knowing well the worst is but to liue in a Prison, better in all respects then they can in a Cloister, in any place out of the Land: Such true Subiects, as transported, perhaps, with a little too much zeale, haue erred onely, or at least offended the eares of their Superiors, with a little too seuere and sharpe, and perhaps vndiscreet or vnseasonable admonition, doe feele the heauiest censures of arbitrarie Law to their vtter vndoing. The cause of this cannot be to woo the Romanists to reforme by clemencie; for alas, after too many trials they are found to be obstinately indued in their sinne: but the true reason is, *men are more zealous for superstition, then for true Religion, and more valiant for lyes, then for truth.* When *Elias* flees,

flees, the Prieſts of *Baall* offer themſelues to the ſword, or ſhun it not when it is offered. And beſides this perſonall valour in the ſuperſtitious, nourished by an opinion of merrit, which ſatisfieth the ſincereſt ſort, and a promiſe of Canonization, which prickes forward the ambitious and vainglorious, if (meeting death in their attempts) they should miſſe temporall preferment, or shoot short of the Papacie, which is the generall marke in their eye, yea, the But of their ambitions; The laick or common profeſſour alſo, is much more forward in their wayes of errour, then ours are in the wayes of God. So that, if any of their Clergie come in queſtion, Lords and Ladies become their Aduocates, and doe not onely, vpon their knees, importune their inflexible Idols to heare and helpe, if they could, but knocke at all doores, and giue not ouer knocking, till they obtaine what they deſire; yea, rather then they will return emptie, they emptie their purſes to this end; becauſe their merit is no leſſe in ſauing life, then the others should be in ſuffering death. Whereas, if any of ours be in queſtion, all men shun them, as if they were infected: Oh, they are dangerous, factious, & ſeditious fellowes; and let their opinions, or affections, or actions be what they will, ſo they be queſtioned, the Brand of Puritaniſme ſet once vpon their Backes by power or policie, all men flee from them, as from Rockes at Sea, and leaue them to perish; yea, rather then faile, will add the weight of their authorities, to ſinke them in the common Current of diſpleaſure and diſgrace. Nor is this the cuſtome of profane perſons only, who ſerue for nothing but to ſerue times & purpoſes, & to ſecond the ſentence of their Superiors with ſoothing; but euen ſome of thoſe that will be counted forward Profeſſors, are verie Cowards in the cauſe of Chriſt, and ſeeke not to rectifie

iudgement, as the Elders of Iuda did by argument; nor to reſcue miſtaken innocence, as *Ahikam* did in the caſe of *Ieremiah*, *Ierem. 26.* but deſert and misknow their innocent friends if once they be accuſed, and deliuer them vp to their angry accuſers, as if they were guiltie. Aſſuredly, were they of Rome as faint as we are, or were we as faithfull and ſure to each other as they are, theſe ſtrong and dangerous approches had neuer been made vpon vs at home or abroad, to the hazard of our liues and liberties. This is their aduantage, and our diſaduantage, that they dare doe any thing for the good of their Religion, though the Lawes, and King, and God be againſt them; and we dare doe nothing for ours, though both Law, and King, & God be with vs.

To theſe my timorous & effeminate Friends therefore, who tell me ſtill what I know, that it is good ſleeping in a whole skin, I ſay as *Iob* did to his miſerable Comforters,

Iob 13.4, 13. *Ye are all Phyſitions of no value, Hold your peace, let me alone that I may ſpeake, and let come on me what will.*

To my domeſticke Enemies or back-friends alſo, whoſe ill wills I neuer deſerued, except by wishing them well, and praying for them, I ſay with *Zophar* the *Naamathite*,

Iob 20.3 *I haue heard the rumor of my reproch; therefore the Spirit of my vnderſtanding cauſeth me to anſwer.* And with *Iob*,

Iob 13: 18,19 *Behold now, if I prepare me to iudgement, I know that I ſhal be iuſtified. Who is he that will plead with me? For if I now*

Iob 31. 35,36. *hold my tongue, I dye. O that One would heare me! Behold my ſigne, that the Almightie will witneſſe for me; though my Aduerſaries would write a booke againſt me, would not I take it vpon my ſhoulder, and bind it as a crowne vnto me?*

And for Foraine Enemies (if I haue any that will do me ſo much honour as to oppoſe me) I muſt remember them of

of that reſolution which *Sylla's* Hoſt shewed in *Præneſta*, when ſeeing his Countreymen put to death, and yet life being offered him by *Sylla*, he refuſed it, and would needs dye with the reſt, ſaying, *He would not hold his life from the Enemie of his Countrey*: Put in the enemie of his *Religion* alſo, and I am of his mind. *Let not their precious balmes (Lord) breake my head: nor let me eat of their delicates.* Nolo (inquit) patriæ meæ extinctori, debere vitam. Pſ. 141. 4. 5.

But to his Maieſtie, I ſubmit my ſelfe humbly in the words of diſtreſſed *Iob*; not with Religious adoration, as he to God; but with Ciuill veneration, as to Gods Subſtitute. *Doe not theſe two things vnto me, then will I not hide my ſelfe from thee: withdraw thy hand from me, and let not thy face make me afraid: Then call, and I will anſwer: or let me ſpeake, and anſwer thou. How many are mine iniquities and ſinnes? Shew me my rebellion, and my ſinne. Wherefore hideſt thou thy face, and takeſt me for thine enemie? Wilt thou breake a leafe driuen to and fro? And wilt thou purſue the dry ſtubble? For thou writeſt bitter things againſt me, and makeſt me to poſſeſſe the iniquities of my youth.* Iob 13: 20.

O thou that art called a god vpon earth by God himſelfe; Conſider what I haue ſaid; conſider how the truth hath beene kept from thine eares and eyes; conſider how thou doſt now ſee it; conſider how thou haſt of thy grace acknowledged it; conſider how ſtill there is a poſſibilitie of the like abuſe, if not in this, yet in other things that concerne thy ſafetie, and thy *peoples weale* as much, and the *Churches* ſafetie and ſecuritie more. Pardon that which I now write: pardon that which is paſt. *For what haue I now done? Is there not a cauſe?* 1 Sam. 17 29.

The glorie of God is to conceale a thing in ſecret: But the Kings honour is to ſearch out a thing, Prou. 25. 1.

Eccl. 4. 21. *My Sonne be not ashamed to say truth for thy life: For there is a shame which bringeth sinne, and a shame which bringeth worship and fauour. Accept no person against thine owne conscience that thou be not confounded to thine owne decay: and forbeare not thy friend in his fault; And*
Vers. 28. *keepe not backe counsell when it may do good: neither hide thy wisedome when it may be famous. Striue for truth vnto death, and defend iustice for thy life, and the Lord shall fight for thee against thine enemie.*

Eccl. 42. 1,2,8. And *Siracides, cap 42.1,2,8. Of these things be not thou ashamed, neither haue regard to offend for any person. Of the Law of the most High, and his Couenant: and of iudgement, to iustifie the godly; To teach the vnlearned, and the vnwise, and the aged, that contend against the young. Thus shalt thou be well instructed, and approoued of all men liuing.*

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